WORLD REVIEW

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WORLD REVIEW is the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles from publications all over the world. These articles are chosen with great care, since WORLD REVIEW can only be valuable as its sponsors want it to be, if it avoids all political bias. The Editor in his own article, and other signed contributors, express their opinions as frankly as they please. Otherwise the Review would lack force and colour. But the ultimate object of WORLD REVIEW is to perform a useful and progressive service by allowing

THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

THE WAY OF THE WORLD

by VERNON BARTLETT

I EXPECT you are tired of the long and rather pompous articles which I contribute to this review. Well, so am I, and therefore we will make a change of method.

Germany Hesitates

Many people grumble about Herr Hitler's speech of January 30 because it contained so little that was definite in the way of proposals or demands. But just for that reason it was one of the most important and constructive speeches he has ever made. Certainly the most constructive since his disarmament offers of 1933 and 1934, which Sir John Simon, M. Barthou and Herr Hitler's own friend, Lord Londonderry, treated with such discourteous and sceptical folly. For it showed at least a hesitation to continue along a path which must lead to war and a faint hope that he would be tempted to follow a new path towards co-operation with other powers.

It is, after all, encouraging that the Führer is so hard up for Saturday surprises to maintain the enthusiasm of his people that he recently had to denounce restrictions over the Kiel Canal, which everybody outside Germany understood he had denounced when he

threw over all international control of German waterways months ago.

So little remains of the inequalities of Versailles that no further unilateral gestures can be made without involving Germany in grave danger of European war. And, consequently, the Führer makes such a dull speech that even his devoted followers yawn over it. I know of one bank cashier who grumbled, when he was told that all the staff must gather in one room to listen for two hours, that even at the theatre there were intervals for drinks.

Berlin's Spanish Worries

Intervention in Spain was Hitler's first step in foreign affairs which had no possible connection with German ill-treatment at the Peace Conference, and it has brought Berlin far more worries than it was worth. Foreign newspaper correspondents there often receive valuable clues to the secret anxieties of the German Government by being summoned to the Propaganda Ministry for solemn admonition about despatches they had thought were relatively harmless. Several of them, including one visitor—myself—have discovered in this way how unhappy the German authorities are about their own Spanish adventure.

I found ample confirmation in Berlin that the General Staff had objected very strongly to the whole business, and the Führer himself is said to have been very shocked that his tanks and aeroplanes did not put up a better show on the Madrid front. But the more moderate members of the Government and of the General Staff can never be sure that the same Nazi hotheads who urged this adventure on Hitler will not one day stage a demonstration on the Czech frontier or somewhere else which will compel the nation to go to war. Dr. Schacht, by the way, may very shortly be pushed rather unceremoniously into the background, and one envies neither the man who has to control finances in his place nor the Government that loses the collaboration of that conceited but clever and witty man.

Misconceptions About Britain

There are two serious dangers connected with Germany. One is that men like Herr von Ribbentrop, Lord Londonderry and Lord Rothermere still keep alive the belief in Berlin that an Anglo-German alliance is a political possibility. To that end millions of Germans

are being assured that Mr. Anthony Eden has no solid Cabinet support for his speeches on foreign affairs. Which is bunk !

There will only be a chance of that general settlement, about which statesmen talk so much, when German leaders awake to the facts that no British Foreign Secretary could lead the country into an anti-Bolshevik camp, however disgusted it may be by the Moscow trials, and that the only alternatives for Great Britain are an Anglo-French alliance and a development of the collective system. And even an Anglo-French alliance which entirely neglected the fate of Eastern Europe is no longer conceivable.

Nothing could do more to strengthen Mr. Eden's position than the conviction in this country that the Germans were propaganding for his removal from it. It would be amusing to know whom the Conservatives of the Londonderry type would like to put in his place and how they would manage to keep him there. For the Foreign Secretary has two tremendous advantages. Despite his sad failure to deliver the goods, he still retains the trust and sympathy of most of his party's opponents. And he has the support of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the future Prime Minister.

The other German danger is the extent to which anti-Russian propaganda has brought the most pacific of the German people into line with the most warlike. I find that kindly and cultured ladies in Berlin who, four years ago, were convinced that the Jews were destroying the Fatherland are now equally convinced that the Comintern is to blame. The very intensity of their desire for peace makes them ready to send their sons out to war against this enemy.

No Jogging Mr. Baldwin

Now that further "surprises" in international affairs would carry with them so grave a risk of war, the Führer is obviously hesitating which way to turn. That he cannot afford to hesitate for very long is proved by the disappointment caused by his speech of January 30.

There could, then, be no better moment to encourage him to turn towards international co-operation and away from economic and political isolation. No better moment for a really bold British initiative, including the offer of a rearrangement of the whole system of colonial administration as part of a general settlement. Colonies might not have great commercial value for Germany, but they could

be easily interpreted to German public opinion as such a victory for the Führer that he could afford to enter on a phase of co-operation whose commercial value would, indeed, be great.

But people in close touch with Downing Street smile sadly at any suggestion of a bold British initiative to help Herr Hitler to behave himself. Mr. Baldwin, they say, cannot possibly be jogged into activity again. He will sit quietly at Number Ten until after the Coronation, and what cares he of the deluge that may come after him !

German-Russian Alliance ?

One last word about Germany and Russia. It would surprise a good many people in Berlin and Moscow if they knew how much experts in London and Paris were preoccupied with the idea not of a German-Russian war, but of a German-Russian alliance.

After all, Stalin seems as determined as any Nazi could be to destroy the Comintern, and Hitler is careful to point out that he has no quarrel with the Russians but only with their Communists. The gap now is not very wide, for Germany is becoming more socialist and Russia is becoming more nationalist. Months ago one of the heads of the French Foreign Office told me that the principal reason for the signature of the Franco-Russian pact, was the desire to forestall the signature of a German-Russian one. For that same reason, even the British Government is now beginning to develop quite an affection for a pact which has no justification under the League Covenant.

Optimistic Dr. Benes

One of the most puzzling men in Europe is President Benes of Czechoslovakia. He sits in that most lovely of castles, the Hradschin at Prague, and persists in being an optimist !

The Czechs have not been too wise in dealing with their three-and-a-half million German minority. One of the most prominent of them boasted to me only a few months ago that they had nothing to fear from their Germans, because the entire administration, the entire police force and the entire army were Czech—a flat contradiction to the boasts that the minorities were on a footing of absolute equality of opportunity with the majority. I doubt whether our own record overseas entitles us to claim that we should have acted with any more wisdom or tolerance, but that, fortunately for us, is off the

point. The point is that the failure of President Benes to negotiate with Herr Konrad Henlein, the leader of the Sudeten German Party, is driving the great majority of those Germans more and more towards National Socialism. I refuse to believe that Henlein is—or, at any rate, was—merely the tool of Hitler, and the failure to deal with him is much too like the former failure of the French to deal with Stresemann.

But one can hardly blame Dr. Benes for resenting these constant German attacks on his country as a hotbed of Bolshevism, and for refusing, in consequence, to deal with the 60 per cent. of the German minority—the Sudeten German Party—which favours National Socialism. For it is absurd to pretend that the Czechs, comfortable and respectable to the verge of smugness, are "going Bolshie." They dislike and distrust their link with Russia, and would be only too happy to weaken it if the German attitude became less threatening.

The success of the "volunteer" method in Spain of interfering in the affairs of another country without appearing to do so may also create difficulties for Czechoslovakia. Plans, of which I have seen the fullest possible details, exist for the arrival in that country of Hungarian "volunteers" to arouse the Hungarian minority in the south-east, and of German "volunteers" to perform a similar service to the German minority in the north-west.

And yet Dr. Benes keeps on smiling, and assuring visitors in his abominable French that his country has nothing to fear.

Faking Atrocities

There is nothing very new about faking photographs for political purposes, and it is widely believed that atrocity pictures were sold to both sides in at least one Balkan war. The game goes on. During the advance from Toledo to Madrid some very horrible photographs were taken of children who had been killed in a Franco air-raid on Getafe. So horrible that most British newspapers, even those supporting the Spanish Government, refused to publish them.

You may find them, however, in a recent number of Julius Streicher's *Der Stuermer*, which still continues its disgusting career, despite the frequent assurances that it is about to disappear.

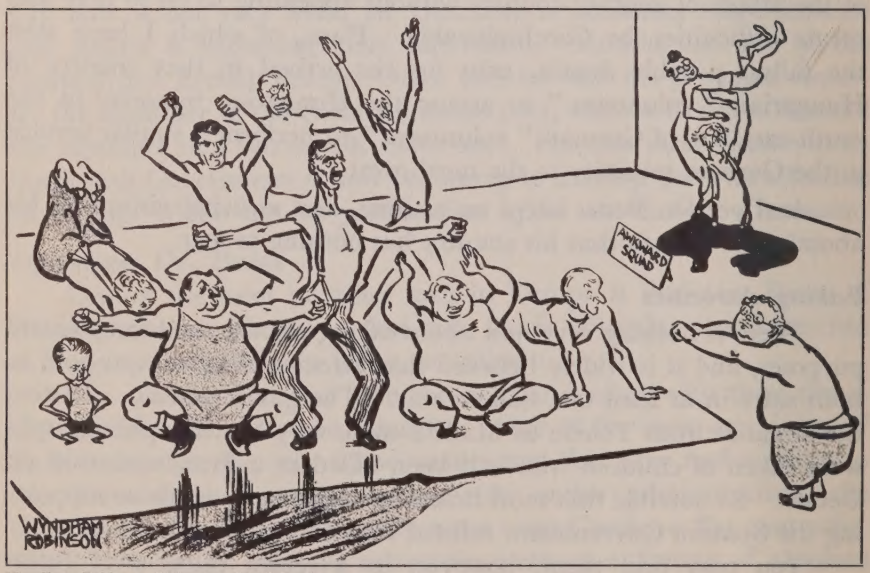
But you might not recognise the photographs, for Herr Streicher

has made a slight alteration. The caption beneath them runs: "The children of Nationalist families are murdered by the Reds."

Contagious Creed

One of the many delays in producing an effective control plan to prevent the arrival of men and munitions in Spain, has been caused by the discussions as to whether there should be international naval patrols for the whole coast or national patrols for certain zones, with German and Italian ships controlling the Spanish Government area and British and French ships controlling General Franco's area.

The latter plan was chosen and the Russians, with justifiable anger, wanted to know why they should be left out of the picture. One reason—but not the published reason—was that their closest friends, the French, did not want very intimate collaboration between French and Russian ships. Fascism—*pace* Herr Hitler—is apparently less contagious than Communism!



Wyndham Robinson, "Morning Post," London

THE GOVERNMENT SETS THE EXAMPLE

Recently the Government has announced its plans for a National "Keep Fit" Campaign.

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Spanish Picnic

SEVERAL friends of mine have recently come back from Spain with stories about the fighting. According to their accounts, as long as the war was still mainly in the hands of the natives, it was often conducted with the carelessness of a picnic. One journalist of my acquaintance reached Getafe, the Croydon of Madrid, shortly after the insurgent advance guard.

"Have you taken the aerodrome yet?" he asked a group of officers.

No one knew.

Guitar Accompaniment

My friend walked boldly on in the direction of the Cerro de los Angeles, a hill then occupied by Government militia. Within easy range of the enemy gunfire, he saw a party of insurgent troops reclining on the grass and having lunch. The corporal in charge was playing the guitar.

The journalist repeated his question. "Have you taken the aerodrome yet?"

"We don't know," was the reply. Then someone pointed a machine-gun at the hill opposite. "Anyway," he said, "this is the front line."

But, as General Franco's staff have only six-inch motoring maps, it is small wonder that his troops seldom know where they are.

In Bombed Madrid

According to returned members of the Scottish Ambulance unit, Madrid has been very badly knocked about. Yet, in a film I saw

which had newly come from Madrid, civil life seemed to go on unhindered as if the city were miles behind the firing line.

Trams were running in the streets, hawkers and loafers lounged at the corners and, in token of the Socialist regime, brand new co-operative stores had been opened. But, apart from beans and Russian tinned beef (reported to be excellent), food is very short.

Tale of a Tub

The Duke of Alba's palace has suffered as badly as anything from the bombardment. Where formerly the ducal bath stood in a setting of gold and crystal, nothing is left but a hole in the wall.

At the British Embassy, the chair in which the Military Attaché was sitting when he was slightly wounded by a bomb stands up unharmed among a mass of ceiling debris. Oddly enough, the bomb is reported to have been of British make, though of antique vintage.

Sacked

Commanders on both sides in the civil war, however successful, are liable to be dismissed at short notice. That bold and energetic officer, Colonel Yague, who led the first insurgent force to penetrate the outskirts of Madrid is now on the shelf, following political differences with his superiors.

On the other side, the naturalised Canadian General Kleber, who fought both ways during the Russian Revolution, ending up in command of a brigade under the dashing Red cavalry leader, Budyenny, has also been retired. He was in charge of the International Column, and boasted too much that the successful defence of Madrid was due to his own troops and not to the Spanish militia.

Now, instead of patrolling the streets of the capital in a smart armoured car, he is reduced to strolling disconsolately about the country lanes at Mislata, the village where he is now living on the road between Madrid and Valencia. He hopes soon to return to Russia.

General Kleber's origins are wrapped in mystery : one report says that he first came to Russia as a Hungarian prisoner from the Galician front. During the Revolution, he appears to have led a band of freebooting cavalry which, after fighting for a time on the White side, transferred its allegiance to the eventual winners.

Trotsky later was struck by his capacity and took him on to his staff.

Since then, in Hungary, in China, in Germany, Kleber, whose original name is given as Ludwig Tekete, has cropped up wherever there have been signs of revolution. He came to Spain last September from Russia on board the Soviet steamer *Kuban.*

GENERAL KLEBER

The "mystery man" who led the International Brigade in Madrid. Now retired for saying he saved the city.

Poison Gas

The recent Anglo-Italian agreement carefully avoided going into details. The subject of broadcasting would have been particularly hard to approach on paper. A British consul who, while on leave, made an extended tour in Arabia has stressed to me the serious effect which the broadcasts from Rome in Arabic are having on the natives.

"They use worse language about the British than we do about the dogs in the market," he was told by the Imam of the Yemen.

The B.B.C. may have to learn Billingsgate too.

South Africa's "No"

If Germany is to have her African colonies back, she must find a

way of suppressing Generals Hertzog and Smuts, who between them run the South African Union.

Germans are not individually disliked in the Union ; in fact, not long ago it was being more or less openly said that their return to Africa (in somebody else's colonies) would be welcomed, as they would probably see eye-to-eye with the Union Government on the native question. But the idea that South-West Africa or Tanganyika should be ceded to Germany is considered quite out of the question. The same applies to Angola : the Union would, undoubtedly, expect Great Britain to exert pressure on Portugal, if she looked like allowing Germany to establish herself there.

The clue to the Union's attitude is defence. At present, Mr. Oswald Pirow, the German-born Defence Minister, has few worries, but the return to Africa of his former compatriots would soon make him share the nightmares of European statesmen.

The Burgher Generals

Ever since the days of Rhodes, politics in South Africa have been on the epic scale. Of late years the titanic struggle between Hertzog and Smuts, ending in their reconciliation, has been the main theme.

Smuts is the better known in England. I remember meeting the short, stocky Franz Hals, burgher, when he was Rhodes Memorial Lecturer at Oxford. Reserved and unassuming, he had no airs of greatness : but the cold blue eyes missed nothing, and his proverbial inaccessibility thawed as the evening went on. Still, he was always dry and incisive rather than genial.

Soufflé

There is some warmth hidden under the hard crust, however, as is shown by the following tale of his mission to Vienna after the Armistice. The Austrians were starving. The Head of the British Military Mission welcomed General Smuts with a banquet at Sacher's, the hotel frequented by Habsburgs in their lighter moments. Smuts was disgusted, gave his host a dressing-down and thereafter insisted that the Mission should live on its own rations and not insult the hungry Viennese.

Bilingual

" Ou' Baas " (Old Master—and it might well be in the picture dealers' sense), as his family call him, or " Jannie," as he is known to

his few intimates, Jan Christian Smuts was born a British subject, although the son of a Boer farmer.

Like General Hertzog, he studied at Stellenbosch, where he read Shelley and thought of becoming a Dutch Reformed Minister. His outlook was changed and enlarged by the winning of a Cambridge scholarship. Hertzog, on the other hand, never learnt to appreciate British ways, as he finished his education at Amsterdam.

First Round

This divergence came to a head thirty years later, when Hertzog left the Botha-Smuts Government of co-operation with Britain, to form the Nationalist Party. When the War broke out, Smuts was for clearing the Germans out of Africa, and did so : Hertzog and the Nationalists called it a British war in which they had no interest.

Knock Out

While Smuts was away in Europe acting as the War Cabinet odd-job man, Hertzog's ascendancy grew. Bespectacled, with a heavy moustache, the Boer champion was as tireless as his rival and had more charm. Smuts returned home to find his position undermined : his popularity faded altogether after his ruthless, though successful, suppression of the Rand Revolution. The Nationalists stepped in, and for ten years ruled the country with a programme of complete independence from Great Britain : but, in practice, nothing came of it, and now it is relegated to the Opposition group led by Dr. Malan.

Back in the Ring

Smuts' chance came over the devaluation issue. Four years ago he split the country in a whirlwind campaign against the gold standard. Then the incredible happened : Hertzog changed his mind, and the two wise old Dutchmen sat down together to discuss the paper pound, which eventually saved South African prosperity.

Have you ever argued with a Dutchman whose mind was made up ? Hitler can try with these two, but it will be far harder than remilitarising the Rhineland. The taciturn Governor-General, Sir Patrick Duncan, once a member of the Milner *Kindergarten*, would be an equally tough British nut to crack.

THE SPANISH COCKPIT IN CARTOON

AT THE FRANCO-SPANISH FRONTIER

"No rifle ?" "No."
"A revolver ?" "No."
"Not even a Russian grammar ?" "No."
"Well, you can't cross the frontier. You aren't respecting neutrality !"

"Guerin Meschino," Italy

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

"Beg pardon, Sir, but her ladyship says will you come over for a minute as she has something to tell you."

"Tell her I can't. There is an extra big battle on this evening, and I shan't be home before ten."

The Gentleman from the Non-Intervention Committee :

" May we, Excellency, control German non-intervention in your Moroccan ports ? "

" Ja ! Ja ! "

" Le Canard Enchainé," Paris

" Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

" Bravo ! You have been wounded in battle, I see."

" Battle, Yes—but this is the result of the fight we had among ourselves during it."

ALL FOR ONE, BUT ONE FOR ALL

"Internationalise all colonies under the ægis of the League . . . "—News Chronicle.

When at last the League of Nations,
Wedded to collaborations,
Rules colonial populations
Now our own,
And the Equatorial Ocean
Gets the broad Geneva notion,
Kindled to a world-emotion
Yet unknown,

When ex-subjects, not protected,
By our Empire disconnected,
But to fifty States selected,
Given in charge,
Learn that " national concession "
Is an out-of-date expression,
Patriotic prepossession
Must enlarge,

When League fleets of raw material,
Freed from tariff bars imperial,
Copra, cocoa, yams and cereal
Freely freight,
When by League of Nations Charter,
Fresh facilities for barter,
Make no bankrupt State a martyr,
Spitting hate,

Then if Powers still unsated
With new grievances created,
Communities mandated
Should attack,
Forth Esthonia's troops would sally,
Haiti would not shilly-shally,
Salvador would straightway rally,
And Iraq.

If a League of Nations war is
Mandatees for mandatories,
And Geneva's peaceful glories
Then would die,
For Peru, Spain, Lithuania,
Siam, Persia, France, Rumania,
Finland, Turkey, Greece, Albania
And Paraguay.

Reynard.

THE OPEN FORUM

SHOULD THE EX-GERMAN COLONIES BE RETURNED ?

THE CASE FOR GERMANY

by WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON, HON.D.PHIL.

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing their views, articles by writers of international authority. This month we have been fortunate in securing two champions of opposing points of view on the outstanding question of the moment : Should the ex-German colonies be returned ? Mr. W. H. Dawson is an authority on Germany of long standing, and is the author of numerous works, including histories of Germany and " Germany Under the Treaty." Mr. Duncan Sandys, M.P. (Mr. Winston Churchill's son-in-law), is M.P. for Norwood, and has been taking a prominent part, both in the recent Conservative Party Conference and in Parliament, in opposing the return of Germany's former colonies

WITH the invitation that I would put forward the case (as I see it) for the return to Germany of the colonies of which the Allied Powers dispossessed her at the end of a war consecrated by the pledge of " No annexations," I comply the more readily since for me, having no personal interest whatever in the question, directly or indirectly, the only considerations which count are those of honour, justice, international amity and peace.

1. First for an Englishman should always come the obligation of honour. How is honour involved ? On October 5, 1918, the Berlin Government offered to surrender on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points of January 8, 1918, and his other official peace declarations. After obtaining the acquiescence of Great Britain, France, and the other Allied Powers, Wilson formally signified to Germany the

collective acceptance of that basis, so establishing a solemn contract between the two sides. The fifth of the Points was the stipulation that there should be " a free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims," and that in determining all questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned should have equal weight with " the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined," while another condition was that nothing should be done that would " contravene Germany's legitimate economic aspirations." Nevertheless, as Lansing, Wilson's adviser, wrote later, Germany's rights, titles and aspirations were never once considered. The fact is that as early as 1915 the British and French Governments had decided to annex her colonies.

2. Let me remind the reader that from the middle ages forward the Germans were a colonising people, and that German settlements then established in eastern Europe have continued to the present day. The German tradition of colonisation in the modern sense goes back to the last quarter of the 17th century, when Prussia acquired settlements in West Africa. From the beginning of the last century and for seventy years, however, no nation did so much as the Germans, by their explorers, travellers, and scientists for the opening up of Africa to civilisation.

Peaceably Acquired

3. When at last, early in the 'eighties of that century, Bismarck created the German colonial empire, as we know it, he could claim that no empire was ever more peaceably acquired. While our own consists very largely of the trophies of wars with France, Spain, Holland and Denmark, not one of Germany's colonies was gained at the expense of her European neighbours. Not only did Bismarck, before obtaining territory in Africa, make sure that Great Britain in particular did not claim it, but Germany's titles to most of her territories were later confirmed by treaties with Great Britain, France, Portugal and Belgium, in some cases as the result of territorial bargaining.

4. Never were the colonial spirit of the Germans and their attachment to the colonies so sincere and enthusiastic as today. And why? Because at an incalculable expenditure of effort, treasure, and life, they had brought these territories to so high a level of develop-

ment ; because of the strong appeal of sentiment and piety, since thousands of German families are bound to the colonies by indissoluble ties with the living and the sacred dead ; because reinstatement is regarded as a matter of national pride and honour, and as essential to the attainment, after the long years of humiliation, of full national sovereignty ; and because the commercial and industrial prosperity of their country is no less, if not more, conditioned by the possession of tropical territories than is that of England or France, Belgium or Portugal.

Need for Outlet

5. For the moment the need of outlets owing to pressure of population may not be asserted so strongly as formerly, but that need, too, will have to be faced. Fifty years ago Froude, after travelling round the Empire, wrote of the importance of having " land on which to plant families where they can thrive and multiply." That is also Germany's claim, and it will be folly to try to thwart it. It is a significant fact, testifying to the unchanging attachment of the original German settlers to their colonies, that so many have gone back to them and begun life again. For example, although driven out of East Africa after the war, and only allowed to return in 1926, within the succeeding seven years the number of German landed proprietors had exceeded that of the English (502 against 494). It is impossible to contend that Tanganyika could ever be in any true sense of the word a British colony. So it is with the Cameroons, Togoland, and other territories.

6. If Germany does not need her million square miles of oversea empire as before—which is only as much as little Belgium and backward Portugal possess—how in the name of reason and justice can Great Britain claim the right to an empire comprising one-quarter of the globe, and the other five or six colonial Powers to a further eighth between them ? Such an attitude cannot be better described than in Disraeli's phrase as " an irrational and outrageous selfism." And this at a time when the English race of pioneers seems to have died out, and when our people cannot be persuaded even by subsidies to migrate to the Dominions, while Germans are more eager than ever to colonise, though no longer willing to do it for other countries.

By courtesy of "The Crown Colonist," London

THE LION'S SHARE

The Colonial Empire comprises 3,000,000 square miles, with a population of over 60,000,000 people. Counting in the self-governing Dominions and India, Britain's Empire covers a quarter of the Earth.

7. That German colonial administration had proved conspicuously efficient and successful is testified by numberless witnesses of authority, and until a malign war propaganda—from which no belligerent country was free—poisoned public opinion, there had never been any suggestion to the contrary. Not only did representatives of the Foreign Office periodically report with admiration of the work done and the progress made, but tributes came from Cecil Rhodes, Theodore Roosevelt, Sir J. S. Keltie, the geographer, Sir Harry Johnston, the traveller, Sir Charles Eliot, the British African administrator, and one, as late as January, 1914, from Viscount Milner in a speech made at the Royal Colonial Institute. Writing in 1911, the American traveller, E. A. Forbes, said : "Of all the lords of Africa the German has the cleanest hands." Further, approaching the question from the humanitarian standpoint, the Rev. J. H. Harris, Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Association (whom I take to be identical with Sir John Harris who so severely indicts British colonial administration in an article from the *Contemporary Review*, quoted in the January issue of this REVIEW) was so impressed by Germany's administration that in his book *Dawn in Darkest Africa* he proposed the transfer to her of the entire French and Belgian Congo regions. Yet in 1919 just the opposite of this took place ! Germany does not ask for French or Belgian or British colonies, but only that she shall have back her own.

Lies Exposed

8. Here I would earnestly ask those of my readers who are honestly concerned to know the facts of German colonial administration, as told by a man of unequalled authority and unimpeachable character, to read the book entitled *German Colonisation Past and Future* (Allen & Unwin) by Dr. H. Schnee—well known, I believe, to many members of the House of Commons—who, after being a high official in the German Colonial Office, earned as Governor of German East Africa the respect and confidence of the native population there in a remarkable degree. Primarily the book is an impressive exposure, moderately stated but backed throughout by proofs, of a notorious British Bluebook, as malicious as it was mendacious, which was published in 1918, and of which General Hertzog, the South African Prime Minister, said in 1924 that he "doubted whether anyone believed it,"

and that it was "one of many war pamphlets that had gone into oblivion or soon would do."

9. Dr. Schnee's book is more than an exposure, however, for it contains a broad survey of the work done by Germany in the domain of native welfare, and an inspiring story it is. No other Power has excelled, even if equalled, her record in the province of tropical therapy and hygiene generally. It is a singular tribute to that work that when the Treaty of Versailles was being drawn up English writers urged our Government to require Germany, as one of the penalties to be imposed on her, to communicate to other countries the pathological discoveries made by her scientists and practitioners! Today, when the public conscience is more than ever alive to the obligations due to the child nations of the world, German capacity and practical co-operation are imperiously needed, and to refuse her claim to resume her earlier beneficent work as a colonial Power would be a wrong done not only to a great nation but to all the neglected and derelict races of mankind.

Germany as Britain's Friend

10. Much might be said altogether in Germany's favour on the loyal attitude of the native populations in her colonies during the war and on their attitude to the new custodians, but I must use my remaining space in meeting the common objections advanced to the return of the colonies. Most of them proceed from the assumption that to return them would be to endanger the British Empire. That assumption is unjustified and ungenerous and a plea of the proverbial "red herring" type. I confess to great impatience with this petty and un-English fear and jealousy of Germany. A great imperialist like Joseph Chamberlain was above it, for when in 1885 the same angry protests were raised against Germany's first colonial endeavours he scornfully disowned them as "humiliating" and compared them to "the pettish outcry of frightened children." The British Empire will have the whole world on its side so long as it stands boldly for justice, equality of opportunity, and righteousness. Our greatest and only real enemies are narrowness, selfishness, and arrogance in ourselves. Her colonies returned, Germany in particular would prove a steadfast friend.

11. It has also been objected that if Germany were to have back her colonies she would exclude the trade of other countries. Not only

does the objection come with a bad grace from us, seeing that the territories of the Empire are being more and more closed to the rest of the world, but again Germany never did it in the past, and it is unjustifiable to conclude that she would do it in the future, but there would have to be a fair reciprocity.

Denaturalised Citizens

12. A further objection is the alleged injustice of placing British subjects under German jurisdiction, and its hollowness is obvious. A host of British subjects were in that position before the war and they never complained or had cause for complaint, since all Europeans, of whatever nationality, enjoyed equal treatment in the German colonies. Down to the eve of the war our Government was negotiating a colonial agreement with Germany which would have similarly changed the political status of subjects of both nations, and since the war the British Government has transferred territory to Italy and Belgium. One wonders whether those who use this specious argument have ever given a thought to the fact that the German settlers in East and West Africa, New Guinea, and other mandated territories which fell to Great Britain were cruelly dispossessed of their property and ejected from these territories, to which later they could only return as aliens, or yet of millions of Germans who were denaturalised and in large part impoverished in Europe by the Treaty of Versailles.

An Underhand Design

13. To take one further objection, equally without substance : it is contended that once a mandate has been conferred it cannot be renounced. It is true that the Covenant of the League of Nations makes no express provision for transfer, but it is not forbidden, even by implication. What is more to the point is the fact that already the British Government has twice renounced mandated territory, of course with the sanction of the League of Nations. It was done first in the case of Ruanda and Urundi, parts of German East Africa, which it transferred to Belgium in 1923, and recently in the case of Iraq. Let me add that it is not to our credit as a nation that ever since the mandate for Tanganyika was entrusted to this country our Government has tried so to " wangle " it as to secure the inclusion of the territory in a solid British East African dominion. Not only has Germany strongly protested against this rather underhand design,

but the League of Nations has made clear its disapproval of it and is watching it closely.

Generosity Pays

"Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice," said President Wilson in 1917, and the warning is equally true and urgent today, when, after nearly twenty years of a peace that is merely a truce, all Europe is feverishly accumulating armaments in preparation for another war. Once more I would appeal to the men who direct British foreign policy to show themselves superior to fear, distrust, and false pride, and get rid of this one obstacle to reconciliation with Germany, meeting her claims gracefully and generously, and so meriting and receiving the gratitude and confidence of a nation to which we have done a great wrong. For in the long run generosity pays always, blessing him who gives no less than him who takes, but selfishness never. In 1905 and again in 1911 we risked war with Germany in our desire to secure Morocco for France, who had no title to it. Shall we risk war again with the same Power rather than renounce territory still hers by moral right?

I cannot end better than with an extract from a letter which reached me some weeks ago from a Swedish admirer of England. "I have met people in Stockholm," the writer says, "who have said, 'Thank God that England exists.' I have also met others who speak of 'English hypocrisy' with a shrug. *The Times* has recently paid special attention to the Scandinavian countries, and the Poet Laureate has been sent over to make way for English thought and literature. But I do not think any such forms of propaganda could have the effect that a clear English policy of treaty revision and a more equitable distribution of colonies would have."

DOUBTFUL COMPLIMENT

COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT says he considers President de Valera one of the world's leading statesmen.

What we want to know now is, is that a compliment?—*Dublin Opinion.*

LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR

BECAUSE the Graces are Catholic and the Byerses Protestants the wedding is being held in the riding academy.—*New York World Telegram.*

THE REPLY

by DUNCAN SANDYS, M.P.

IN the preceding article Mr. W. H. Dawson has presented Germany's case for the return of her former colonies. I have been asked to reply to his arguments from the British point of view.

As there is apt to be some misconception in regard to the exact legal status of mandated territories it is well to make this clear at the outset. Under Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles Germany ceded outright all her colonial possessions, not as is sometimes suggested to the League of Nations, but to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. The latter subsequently entrusted, or as it was termed "mandated," to certain of their number the rights and responsibilities of administering these territories in the interests of the native inhabitants. The most generally accepted view is that complete sovereignty passed to the Power to whom the territory was allocated, though it is conceivably possible to argue that a shadowy residue of sovereignty is still possessed by all the Allied Powers together. Be that as it may, one thing is certain. The latter having never, either jointly or singly, ceded the territories to the League, no vestige of sovereignty can possibly reside in the League any more than in Germany.

Referring to the legal position Mr. Dawson writes : "To take one further objection, equally without substance ; it is contended that once a mandate has been conferred it cannot be renounced." Who has ever contended that ? There is obviously no international agreement which cannot be amended with the consent of the signatories. However, as Mr. Dawson only puts up this ninepin in order to display the dexterity with which he can knock it down, I shall not quarrel with him in principle, though it is necessary to point out that the two examples he quotes are wholly inapplicable to the case under discussion. The allocation of Ruanda and Urundi to Belgium cannot have constituted a renunciation of a mandate since it took place not in 1923, as is suggested, but in May, 1919, a month before even the Covenant was signed, and three years before the mandates system was finally established. Likewise the conferment of independent sovereign status upon Iraq cannot conceivably be advanced as an example of the renunciation of a mandate by one power in favour of

another. It represents not the renunciation but on the contrary the final fulfilment of our mandatory obligations towards the Iraqi people.

Mr. Dawson suggests that it was under false pretences that Germany was induced to surrender in October, 1918, on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, the fifth of which was that "in determining all questions of colonial sovereignty the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the claims of the government whose title was to be determined." Surely it is clear where the emphasis in those words lies? There is no justification for reading into them any intention of prejudging the ultimate settlement one way or the other. They represent no more and no less than the enunciation of the principle that in any redistribution of colonial territories the welfare of the inhabitants should be regarded as being every bit as important as the rights and claims of the European Powers. The Allies fully implemented the spirit of this undertaking by subsequently pledging themselves to administer the conquered territories in accordance with certain enlightened principles of government laid down by themselves in the form of a mandatory code and, as a further proof of the sincerity of their intentions, to render a regular report to the League. If it is true that the German Government did misinterpret the meaning of this phrase it is regrettable, though of little practical consequence; for everybody knows that it was not the hope of favourable terms but the prospect of certain defeat in the field coupled with revolution at home which decided Germany to sue for peace.

What are Germany's Needs?

The preceding article contains an admirable survey of the early history of German colonisation. Mr. Dawson might, however, have recalled to us that Bismarck all along doubted the wisdom of German colonial expansion and frequently voiced his misgivings as to the possible consequences. Likewise the present German Chancellor in his book *Mein Kampf* expressed his unequivocal opposition to the resuscitation of the old imperial colonial policy. It was not until last September that Herr Hitler, inferring from the hesitant attitude of the British Government that colonies were to be had for the asking, was persuaded to champion the colonial cause in the hopes of an easy diplomatic victory.

Why does Germany want or need these colonies? Surely it is upon the answer to that question that the entire German case must stand or fall? Yet Mr. Dawson is content to dispose of this whole matter in a short paragraph and a half of generalities. I shall not quarrel with him over "Sentiment and piety," "Pride and Honour," or "the indissoluble ties with the living and the sacred dead." However, his bald assertion that the possession of colonies is "essential to the attainment of full national sovereignty" would, it seems, have merited some elucidation. If that were true there would indeed be few sovereign states in the world.

In fairness to the Germans it must be admitted that Mr. Dawson hardly does justice to the economic aspect of their case, which he dismisses with a single cursory remark.

Access to Raw Materials

The principal German argument, reiterated again and again by Herr Hitler, Dr. Schacht and Dr. Goebbels, but to which Mr. Dawson makes no allusion, is of course the need of access to raw materials.

This argument entirely overlooks the fact that colonies and raw materials are two entirely separate problems and that no more than 10 per cent. of the world's raw materials come from colonial territories. Moreover, it implies the suggestion that the colonial powers are guilty of cornering raw materials to the detriment of those other countries who do not possess colonies. In actual fact the position is exactly the reverse. Our anxious concern is not how to prevent other countries from obtaining the raw materials we produce, but how to induce them to buy more. There is no tariff or any other form of discrimination against Germany. She has exactly the same facilities for buying raw materials from her former colonies as we have ourselves. If that is pointed out to the Germans they usually fall back upon a second argument, namely, currency difficulties. It might be supposed that they were unable to obtain the necessary British currency with which to buy raw materials from our mandated territories. Official statistics, however, tell exactly the opposite story. The trade returns for 1935, the last year for which figures are available, show that with Tanganyika, the only ex-German territory of any importance held by Great Britain, Germany in fact had a favourable balance. In other words, she has actually been taking British currency out of the territory and spending it elsewhere.

The next argument which Mr. Dawson advances is Germany's need for an outlet for her surplus population. Does he seriously imagine that in semi-tropical African territories Germany is going to find "land on which to plant families where they can thrive and multiply"? Before the War all the German colonies together only managed to absorb some twenty thousand white people, rather less than one-third of the population of either Oxford or Cambridge. The reason was that the climatic conditions in those territories are not suitable for large white populations—and that is something which even Herr Hitler and Mr. Dawson together would not be able to alter.

Having examined the German arguments we should surely not be thought guilty of any impropriety were we to consider for a moment how the transfer of these territories would affect us. From the economic angle the loss to Great Britain would be as insignificant as the gain to Germany. On the other hand, from the military standpoint the danger would be incalculable. Tanganyika in foreign hands would weaken the strategic unity of the whole British Empire. It would interrupt the continuity of British territory along the air route from the Cape to Egypt. A foreign submarine base at Dar-es-Salaam might endanger our lines of sea communication with India, Australia and the Far East. Inevitably our present defence programme would have to be immeasurably expanded and the already crushing burden of taxation further increased. The only compensation which we received for the tragic sacrifice, which we were called upon to make in the Great War, was a slight measure of added security in Africa and the Near East. We can hardly be blamed for hesitating to exchange it for further paper assurances.

The Interests of the Natives

All these considerations are important, but there is one last consideration which over-rides all others. It is the interests and welfare of the inhabitants for whom we have accepted guardianship. The writer of the preceding article is at pains to point out the shortcomings of British administration, whilst lavish in his praise of the German colonial record. We should nevertheless do well not to confine our research to the few carefully selected publications recommended by Mr. Dawson. A wealth of documentary evidence is available and those who, like myself, are loth to indulge in invidious

comparisons, can with confidence leave the student to form his own opinion. Suffice it to say that the attitudes of Britain and Germany—more particularly present-day Germany—towards political, religious and racial questions differ profoundly from one another.

In considering the question of transfer we have to ask ourselves one simple question: "Are we sure that the inhabitants would be as well cared for under German rule as they are under the protection of the British flag?" Unless we can be certain of that, it would surely be both cowardly and dishonourable to abdicate the responsibilities which we have assumed towards these backward peoples.

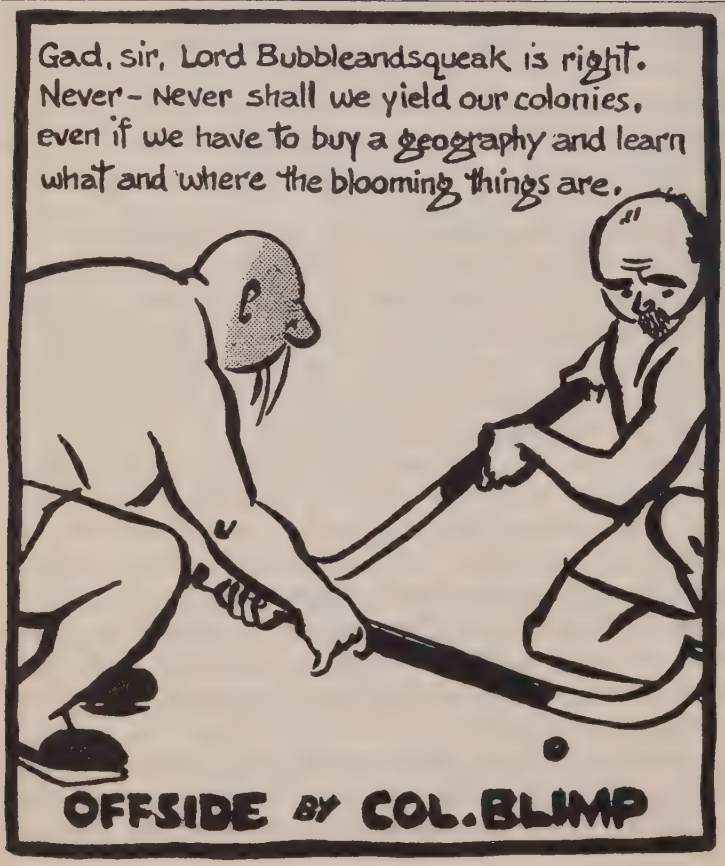
It is strange that Mr. Dawson does not devote a single sentence to show in what way it would benefit the natives to be transferred back to German rule and to justify the disturbance and dislocation which such a change would inevitably involve. He seems entirely to overlook the fact that the mandated territories have now been under their new rulers for some twenty-two years, almost as long and in some cases even longer than the lifetime of the previous German administration.

No "Buying" Safety

This is essentially an African and an Asiatic problem, yet Mr. Dawson's point of view, with its insistence upon rights as opposed to obligations, is purely a European one. Africa is to him just a field for "territorial bargaining" and its native populations mere pawns in the European game. His outlook is, in fact, that of the nineteenth century, not that of the twentieth. He says that: "Her colonies restored, Germany would prove a steadfast friend." In return for Germany's friendship we offer her ours. Is that not enough? Is our friendship of less value than hers? Must colonies be thrown in as a make-weight? Mr. Dawson goes on to ask: "Shall we risk war, rather than renounce territory?" That almost savours of a threat. Can it be seriously suggested that we should seek to *buy* our safety—not even at our own expense, but at the expense of defenceless African peoples whom we have pledged ourselves to protect? Britain's attitude towards her responsibilities has never been and, let us hope, never will be dictated by fear.

The gist of Mr. Dawson's case amounts to a tearful plea of: "It ain't fair!" He relies exclusively on an appeal to what might be termed "historic justice." He takes up his stand on the *status*

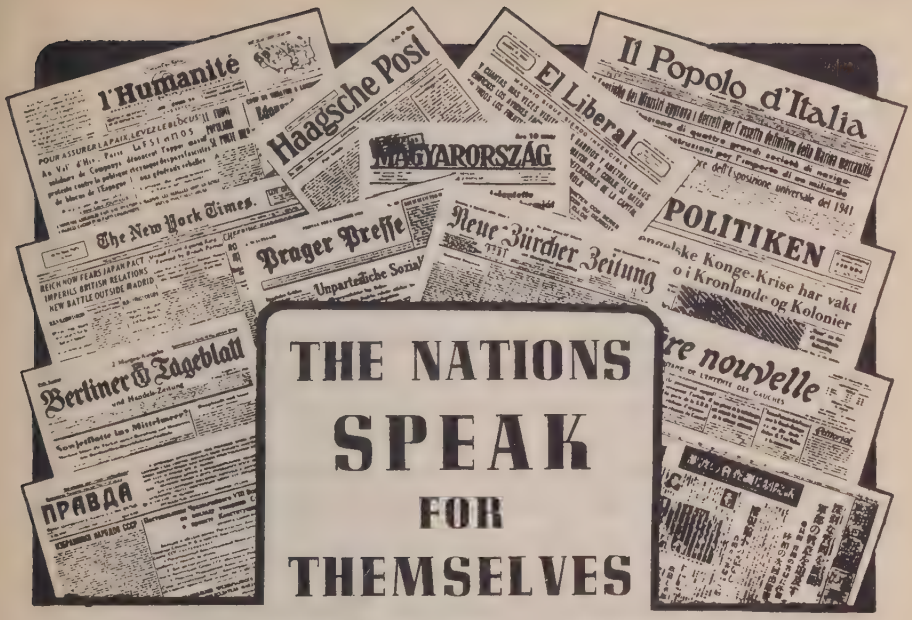
quo of 1914. The only reason he gives why the colonies should be returned to Germany is that they formerly belonged to Germany. If we accept that principle, why limit it to Africa? Why not restore the 1914 map of Europe? Apart from the Scandinavian and Iberian peninsulas, there are only three countries, Holland, Switzerland and Luxemburg, whose boundaries are the same as they were before the War. In fact why stop at 1914? Why not revert to the Peace Settlement of Vienna of 1815 or to that of Utrecht of a hundred years before? Why not give Canada back to France? For that matter why not restore England to Denmark or to Rome? As a historian, Mr. Dawson ought really to know better than base his case upon such a fallacious argument.



COLONEL BLIMP ON COLONIES

Colonel Blimp, the most famous creation of Britain's most famous cartoonist, as usual, hits the nail on the head.

Low, "Evening Standard," London



HANDS OFF! ~

A WARNING FROM FRANCE

by AIMÉ BERTHOD

(*Prominent French Radical Senator and former Minister*)

From "La Dépêche de Toulouse"

FRENCH opinion has taken the German demand for colonies very quietly. It feels no doubt that these demands are of more immediate concern to other States which received a larger part of the former German possessions, and in the first instance to the British Commonwealth.

We ought not, however, to speak too lightly of the part played by the territories of Togoland and the Cameroons—particularly by the latter, the mandate for which was shared between England and ourselves.

We fear that many Frenchmen, even some of the best educated, still persist, despite the efforts made in the last few years to inculcate in them a spirit of empire, in regarding our colonies in the same way

as those ancestors of ours who spoke of Canada as only "a few acres of snow."

But it is our conviction that our position in the world—like England's in the last three centuries—depends more and more on the fate of our overseas possessions and of our African dominions in particular. Only thus can we remain a great Power, able to influence the future by our actions.

France's Future Overseas

We ought, therefore, to adapt our foreign policy to these new conditions. If we find this difficult, it must be because all our diplomatic traditions hark back to the time when France, supreme in Europe through the size of her population and justly proud of her armies, made Europe the almost exclusive centre of her activities and her ambitions. But it can no longer be so. Our overseas dominions open up a new future for us.

For a time the Treaty of Versailles was able to conceal this fact by placing our soldiers in Cologne and Mainz once more, and by making us the policemen of Europe from the Baltic to the Danube and the Ægean. This mistake is no longer permissible. But to return to the Cameroons. Take a glance at the map. It will not show the remarkable advance made under our flag by our administrators, engineers and doctors. But it will show you that the French Cameroons, quite apart from their intrinsic value, are, through Yaunde and Duala, the natural outlet for the vast territories which we have developed around Lake Chad and the Shari river, and that this route is of the first importance for French Equatorial Africa.

Another, and very grave, conclusion to be deduced from these facts is that to return the Cameroons to Germany, with or without the additional territory ceded her at our expense after the Agadir crisis, would mean the revival of the vast plans for an African Empire which Germany then conceived. She regarded the Cameroons, with its feelers extending into the Congo, as the nucleus of the huge Empire of which Germans dreamt, which, linking up with German Equatorial Africa and Portuguese Africa on the other side of the Belgian Congo and, beyond Angola, with German South West, would contain some of the richest regions of the Dark Continent.

History is beginning anew.

We see this new beginning of history, with a more direct threat to us, in that part of Africa between Moulouya and Cape Juby where in the years before the War German diplomacy, helped by its business men and adventurers, so brutally thrust itself at our side in Morocco, on the Riff and in the Souss, hoping not only to exploit its wealth but also to use it as a base against us and, when the time came, to destroy by propaganda and force of arms our supremacy in the whole of North Africa.

This was a vital question if ever there was one. From Algeciras (1905) to Agadir (1911) it was the main preoccupation and the daily worry of all our foreign ministers ; several times it jeopardised peace, and must be reckoned among the events which brought us to the final catastrophe.

We cannot but feel anxiety when we once more see German vessels cruising off Tetuan and harbouring in the Canaries, German troops and engineers taking charge in Ceuta, Melilla and the Spanish zone.

At the time of the Abd-el-Krim rising Germany was behind the rebels. Among those who financed the rising were there not old acquaintances such as Mannesmann, known before 1914 for his intrigues in the whole of Morocco ? And is it not thoughts of Morocco rather than of Spain which have induced the Führer to send battalions and his hastily constructed battle fleet to the aid of Franco ?

Our country has in Morocco much more than in Central Africa important interests, nay, *vital* interests. Our pre-War diplomacy never forgot this. It gave nothing essential away. Its persistent efforts made possible our magnificent achievements in Northern Africa through the Moroccan Protectorate.

And if tomorrow we are to enter on conversations with our formidable adversary it would be well to think of the past and this example.

PORTUGAL BANGS THE DOOR

From " Diario de Noticias," Lisbon

THE Times recently published a letter from Sir Claud Russell, late Ambassador of Great Britain in Portugal, and late British representative on the Inter-Allied Financial Committee, on the question of German colonial aspirations.

The author is of the opinion that there can be no question of the restitution to Germany of her old colonies. "England," he proposes, "should give up to Germany part of Western Nigeria, with an outlet to the sea, forming part of the mandatory zone adjoining the frontier of the colonies. France should give up a portion of the Cameroons. Belgium a part of the Congo, and Portugal a part of Angola with an outlet to the mouth of the Congo River. A solution of this nature would be possible if Great Britain decided to set the example. In all the regions in question Germany would enjoy the most complete sovereignty."

Only as a fantasy form of an idle moment could one admit the possibility of Sir Claud Russell's opinions.

Hitler's declaration to the effect that Germany has not the slightest colonial demands on any nations, except those which retain her old colonies, is the one which, perhaps above all others, stands out in his important speech.

EDEN'S LAST WORD (to Germany): "Either you come with us, or you'll see where you're stranded."

"Das Schwarze Korps," Berlin

Only a few weeks separate us from the insidious rumour of the disembarkation of German troops in the Spanish Zone of Morocco—a rumour put into circulation by the Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs of France, Viénot, in the absence of his superior, with the most dangerous object of provoking a war against Germany in Moscow's favour. Months have not yet passed since the "lie factory," which in certain centres of Communist influence is working full time, spread the vile rumour to the effect that, should Portugal not capitulate at the orders of the "sovietism" of Valencia and Barcelona, England would "give (*sic*) the Portuguese colonies to Poland and Germany." A week has barely passed since the Portuguese Government denied the news of a supposed renting of Angola to Germany.

The Führer's declaration was, then, living and glowing. All the information we received was unanimous, not only in foreseeing that the German Government would make it exactly in the terms uttered, but in guaranteeing that it should represent a true decision on the part of Berlin, which would dispose of all the calculated fabrications which, for the last few years, have been issuing from within and without Geneva concerning the Portuguese colonies as pawns in the exchange of dominions.

We must emphasise, however, how unjust it would be were Portugal called upon to supply "compensations" of this nature. We did not possess, at the end of the War, one inch of territory which was not ours by right, and, apart from this, as the Head of the Portuguese Government wrote only a few days ago: "Our constitutional laws do not permit of such a thing, and, in the absence of such laws, the national conscience would not permit it. . . . We will not sell, we will not give up, we will not lease, we will not share our colonies."

EMPTY AUSTRALIA

A Defence

by F. W. EGGLESTON

From "Pacific Affairs," Camden, New Jersey, U.S.A.

THINKERS throughout the world are rightly concerned about the maladjustment of world populations to resources. British ecclesiastics in particular, in vicarious agonies of conscience, are

reproaching Australia for not filling its vacant spaces. Their views, as I shall show, are based on a complete misconception both of Australia's growth and its resources, and an ignorance of the general principles of population. Japan is one of the most densely populated countries in the world, but its leaders are much better informed. They have been studying population problems to some purpose and appear to understand perfectly well the impossibility of relieving the Japanese problem by migration. Nevertheless, it is desirable for an Australian to state in a magazine devoted to the Pacific region the real situation of Australia so far as the problem of population is concerned.

Handicap of Drought

There is, first, no restriction on the voluntary immigration into Australia of British people, and very little restriction on white aliens. The recent decline of immigration into Australia is due to the economic situation, which has hit primary producing countries very hard. Government assistance to British migration has been limited because of unemployment, but is not entirely stopped. Settlement schemes have been discontinued because of the enormous losses incurred. Furthermore, the potentialities of Australia for population are enormously exaggerated. A maximum of 30 million* is estimated by the best authorities. The attainment of even this figure would involve a lowering of present standards. One-half the continent is as much a desert as the Sahara, and one-third has no settled population at all, the rainfall being about five inches. The remainder of the continent may be divided into two types. One is a large strip with a rainfall of between 10 and 20 inches. This may be classed as semi-arid, and is used for wheat and wool production quite successfully. I do not think that in any part of the world such semi-arid country produces so much wealth, but this country can only be settled in large holdings, and the population is not numerous and never can be. The climatic variations are violent and droughts are frequent. Large-scale capitalistic organisation with reserves for dry periods is necessary for successful settlement. It may be said generally that the semi-arid country of Australia is better settled than similar areas in the United States of America. The other type is a narrow coastal strip in the

* Australia's present population is 6½ million.

south-east and east and a small corner of the south-west. Here the rainfall is from 30 to 35 inches, but much of the land is mountainous and incapable of cultivation. The total area in Australia available for cultivation is probably not more than 200,000 square miles, or about twice that of Great Britain. Its potential population is considerably less than Britain's would be if the latter depended mainly on agriculture.

Rapidly Growing Population

Australia has during a long period increased its population at as great a rate as almost any country in the world. One of the most rapid increases was from 1919 to 1928, but this was too rapid and led to distress and reaction. Australia has doubled its population every 35 years, and if it continues at this rate it will reach its maximum population in about the year 2010. There are very definite limits to the rate at which population can develop. Each accretion needs more capital, more organisation and more public works. Money must be borrowed and spent in advance of settlement. The introduction of loan money causes booms, and these cause reactions. Australia is suffering at present from such a setback, the chief cause of which was the attempt to introduce too many immigrants in the previous decade.

An increase of population of two per cent. per annum or twenty per thousand is really very large. Even the United States has seldom surpassed this figure. This rate of twenty per thousand has been made up by a natural increase of fifteen per thousand and a migration rate of five per thousand. The natural increase must, of course, be provided for first, and the balance of five per thousand has represented the economic potentialities for immigration. The birth rate and the natural increase rate have fallen very much during the last five years. This is probably temporary, and due to the depression. But if it fell to ten per thousand the migration rate might go up from five to ten per thousand if the rate of total development could be maintained. It is doubtful whether it can be continued for long. Immigrants are more difficult to provide for than natural increase, and I do not think Australia could possibly accommodate more than 50,000 immigrants per annum even if the birth rate remained low. If the natural increase rose to the former figures the total immigration might be only 30,000.

The possibility for immigration into Australia must, therefore, be placed at between 30,000 and 50,000 per annum in times of prosperity. This figure is a mere bagatelle in relation to the problem of population adjustment which the critics assume. The most potent obstacle to emigration from Great Britain to Australia is that with living standards in Great Britain so near those in Australia there is no inducement to migrate. Wages have fallen more in Australia than in Britain and social services in Britain are more lavish than they are in Australia. A migrant, therefore, has less security in Australia than at home. At the present time migration from the European continent is far greater than from Britain. If the vacant space of Australia could be settled on a peasant economy, there would be room for a large population, but semi-arid areas cannot be developed in this way, and even in the areas of higher rainfall peasant agriculture is difficult because of the isolation and lack of markets.

The idea that the country which is most vacant can take the largest population in a short period is a fallacy. The earlier stages of exploiting undeveloped territory are slow and difficult. Canada took 200 years to get a population of 70,000. It is the total available resources which count.

What About Other Countries?

Other countries present far greater opportunities. It has been estimated that the United States could feed 320 millions from its own resources. It has now about 130 millions. The Argentine has many times the resources of Australia. The area of good soil and heavy rainfall is about five times greater than in Australia. The area now under irrigation is at least four times the total of the land that could be irrigated in Australia. Other South American countries can be similarly developed. Australia is favoured because it is a British country with stable institutions and a free democratic regime.

Greater population, finally, is not essential for the defence of Australia. Australia derives most of its high standards from exports of wool and wheat, but though interruption of its sea-borne trade would make Australia poorer, it could not ensure defeat. Vacant spaces are the most difficult to attack ; Australia can defend the settled areas.

What I have said in this article is mainly an answer to European

critics, but the same reasoning applies to the crowded countries of the Orient. Australia has taken a definite stand against the migration of races which it does not believe could be assimilated to its own culture and economic standard. This does not involve any reflection upon the civilisation of these races or upon their social qualities. One of the features of present-day world unrest is the conflict of national and racial types. For some reason, it seems impossible for people of very different racial types to mix together under the same political institutions. The cause of this, in my opinion, is the growth of democracy, a very intimate form of government which requires a homogeneous people. Self-government requires that the people should understand one another and on all great fundamental questions should be in very close agreement as to the principles that are required.

Danger of Race Struggles

Fundamental differences involve conflict. Each racial section regards its ethos as a most precious possession and it would regard government by people of another set of ideals as a negation of self-government. Each would struggle for the mastery of its own culture. The result would be hostility and in turn a struggle. Such a struggle would defeat the very aims of the democratic government ; and it is far better for the communities to split up into small homogeneous political units than to attempt government of large units where there are radical differences between sections of the people. The state of the continent of Europe today is sufficient confirmation of these arguments. These are the reasons which have dictated restriction of the immigration of orientals into Australia. It is easy to realise that a sparsely settled country, a country which can *only* be settled very sparsely, is very much more vulnerable to the disintegrating effect of racial differences.

But if the White Australia policy is justified on these grounds there is no justification for economic discrimination. The densely populated countries of the world must either find some process of population adjustment or be able to rely on obtaining the raw materials and the markets they need all over the world.

RADIO COURTESIES AT SEA

From an article by Oscar E. Millard on the work of the North Foreland radio station in the "Passing Show," London

A BELGIAN ship in the Channel was trying to contact a sister ship nearly out of range. The signals of the distant ship were faint and were being constantly jammed by another ship close to the Belgian vessel. For some reason the Belgian operator thought the interfering signals came from the nearby British coast station. After several vain attempts to receive the message which the distant vessel wished to communicate, the exasperated Belgian operator called the British coast station and tapped out the blunt command: "Shut up, bloddy Englishman!"

Now the coast operator had not transmitted a word for at least half an hour, and he felt much as a point-duty policeman would feel if someone deliberately knocked off his helmet. Temporarily speechless with indignation, and not knowing off-hand the number of the regulation that requires wireless operators to speak like little gentlemen, he merely acknowledged the insulting message and made no comment.

The effect could not have been greater if he had transmitted a threat to report the Belgian, as he was entitled to do. For the Belgian, on hearing the coast station's signals, realised at once by their difference in strength from those which were causing the interference, that he had made a bad mistake, insulting a British station without the slightest cause. He immediately became apologetic.

"Monsieur," he signalled, "I make a mistake. Is it excused?"

The coast operator ignored him.

After a pause the Belgian repeated: "Monsieur, I am sorry, I make a mistake. Please say if it is excused."

Still the coast station remained silent, and a third time the ship's operator apologised: "Monsieur, I am very, very sorry. It was a mistake. Please say it is forgiven."

You could almost see the tears in his eyes, and finally the station operator, who had a sense of humour, emerged from his indignant silence. Affecting to misunderstand the reason for the apology, he replied: "Don't worry, son. The correct spelling is with two O's and only one D, but I understood you."

WHITE ISLANDS IN A BLACK SEA ~

UNITE OR PERISH

by OSWALD PIROW

(South African Minister of Defence and Communications)

From the "Europäische Revue," Berlin

The Hon. Oswald Pirow is a forceful writer and speaker with outspoken and decided views on the necessity for the perpetual, if enlightened, subjection of the black races in Africa. For a young man he already has an important post in the South African Government, and is expected to play still bigger rôles in the future. As he here shows, he believes his country to be the natural leader of all Africa south of the Equator.

DRAW a line right through Africa along the southern edge of the Sahara, add to the land north of that line the territories of the Sudan and Abyssinia (this must be done for political reasons), and the African Continent is divided into two fairly equal parts. I do not think that even the most ambitious South African can conceive a time when our influence in the territories north of this line will be very important. If we take a glance at the west coast down as far as Angola, we find that the territories there are, without exception, climatically unsuitable for permanent settlement by white populations. The west coast is a part of Africa which belongs, and always will belong, to the black men, immaterial of the European Power to which he may owe allegiance. Any interests we may have will never go beyond the trade connections which we may be able to build up in competition with European countries.

Thus we are turned towards those parts of Africa south of the equator, excluding French Equatorial Africa in the west and including Kenya (British East Africa) and Uganda in the east. In the last-named territory we have a very definite interest, and it is no exaggeration to say that it is equally vital for the future of these territories as for us that we should work together in the greatest possible harmony. If we remember that the greater part of the land in this part of Africa is able to support a large white population, although much of it is as unhealthy as the west coast, then the community of

interests with the Union, the largest White State in Africa, immediately becomes obvious.

So far there has not been much communication between the Union and those territories which are suitable for a white population. Until quite recently even London and Cape Town were nearer one another than Pretoria and Salisbury, the capital of our nearest neighbour. Now, all this is changing.

The White Man's Claims

Of the problems we (*i.e.*, the Union and its northern neighbours) have in common, the most important is the solution of the Native question. If the white man does not succeed in so regulating the relationship between himself and the negro that the demands of European civilisation are once and for all time decisive, then the idea of a large, settled white population in South Africa is an illusion.

In general, there are two views about the relations between White and Black in Africa. One stands for a policy of equality, which concedes to the negro, in the last analysis, full economic, political and social equality with the European. The other demands a policy of differential treatment, which gives the blacks the unqualified right to develop under our trusteeship, to the fullest extent of which they are capable and according to their own inclinations—a policy which pledges the white man to support the native in this development, but withholds from the native for all time social and political equality with the European.

The latter view is that of the Union. It is, in my view, the policy which will in the end have to be accepted, with or without alterations, by all our northern neighbours. The permanent white populations of these territories to-day reject, with very few exceptions, the idea of equality between Black and White. It is true that a few of the Governments concerned incline, at least in theory, to the policy of equality, but in the last resort it is not Governments and officials, but the men and women who have settled permanently in Africa, who determine Africa's Native policy. To those whose own future, as well as their children's, lies here, and not overseas, it is quite clear that the political equality of the natives must inevitably be followed by social equality, and that this can have but one outcome—the end of the white race.

If the solution of the native question is the most important of the common problems which lie before us, the next is the question of national defence. Even if an attack on one of these territories by an external enemy is still only a very remote possibility, it does not need a great deal of imagination to conceive that such an attack, say by an Asiatic Power, would jeopardise the common ideal of all white civilisation to such an extent that other lands would have no alternative but to step in.

A Common Peril

To this must be added the further fact, that the white communities south of the Sahara are white islands in a vast black sea and will probably always remain so. On principle, we cannot allow even one of these white islands to be swallowed up by the black sea. The little that we in the Union have seen of the effect of communist propaganda on the negro, brings the danger of a common attack on the white minority into the field of future practical politics, though perhaps not in the near future.

The dangerous possibilities inherent in these internal and external difficulties ought to be enough to draw us closer together in questions of national defence, irrespective of events in Europe.

While native policy and national defence take precedence among our common problems, other tasks await us which are hardly less important.

Of these, I should like to take the question of communications, especially the problems of transport by land, air and water. Only a short time ago a South African Transport Conference was held in Johannesburg, at which all the States I have dealt with were fully represented. All agreed on a concerted plan of action, which in course of time will ripen into a cordial agreement far exceeding any mere neighbourly feeling.

Before we discussed transport questions, conferences had already been held on health, locusts and other pests which afflict our agriculture, as well as on the question of a common administration of postal and telegraph services.

In fact, as new points of contact arise, we are all beginning to realise the inescapable fact that we are dependent on one another, not only in matters affecting our daily life and the economic advance-

ment of our territories, but in our very existence or non-existence as white communities. This is a fact which the European countries, to which we owe allegiance or with which we are connected in some other way, will perhaps not realise for a long time.

In Europe some white States may be able to afford to fight each other—but in Africa the whites will disappear very speedily if they do not hold together. The responsibility of the Union is very great, but it is a responsibility which we are prepared to assume.

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

by J. E. HOLLOWAY

From the "Europäische Revue," Berlin

In our January issue we quoted strong criticism of Britain's and South Africa's treatment of their black subjects and promised to give the other side. Here it is, by a South African, writing in a special African number of a German review

THE South African Union is one of the few countries in the world where intensive colonisation by Europeans has not led to the complete extermination of non-European inhabitants. On the contrary, it is very probable that at no time before the arrival of the whites was there so large a non-European population as today, although obviously there can be no statistical proof for this assertion.

This assertion holds good neither for the Hottentots nor for the Bushmen. The number of pure-blooded survivors of these two races is to-day very small.

Brief mention must be made of the Indian population of the country which consists mostly of descendants of recruited foreign workers.

In South Africa a sharp distinction is made between the coloured people found mostly in the west of Cape Province and the so-called "natives" to whom belong the black Bantu tribes. The coloured people are a mixed breed. Any tribal organisation the descendants of the aboriginal Hottentots may have possessed has long since disappeared. They live like Europeans, only on a lower level. They mostly speak Afrikaans. They have, at any rate in Cape Province, the same political rights as Europeans ; they belong to coloured congregations of the same Christian churches and their outlook on life approximates more to the European's than to the Bantu's.

The Colour Problem, from the South African point of view, is predominantly the problem of the attitude of the whites to the Bantu people.

From the 1936 census the following provisional figures have emerged :—

Europeans	1,979,390
Asiatics	215,529
Natives	6,529,784
Coloured	755,282
TOTAL	9,479,985

Since the last census in 1921 the native population has increased by 39 per cent. (compared with a white increase of 30.27 per cent.). This increase must be attributed to circumstances other than natural growth. Even if the census of 1921 outdid all previous ones in

The Fascist Who Forgot Himself

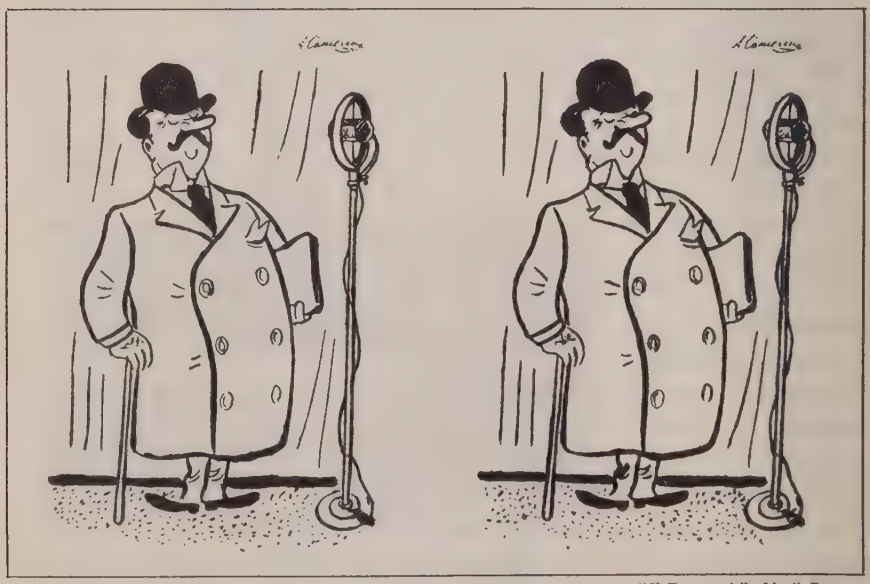
"Plebs," London

accuracy, it was still further improved in 1936 and part of the increase must be ascribed to this improvement. Immigration, too, played a not unimportant part. Native workers are always emigrating in large numbers from neighbouring territories into the Union, and the recent boom in the gold-mining industry has furthered this tendency. On the other hand, European immigration into the Union is small, amounting only to a few thousand annually.

If then it is still not true that Europeans in the country have become a "perpetually diminishing minority," yet it is a fact of tremendous importance for the problem of racial settlement that they are in a minority of 1 to 3 to the blacks.

The Gulf Between

On one side stand the whites as heirs of everything which European civilisation has achieved in the spheres of religion and morality, thought and institutions, culture and technique. Their social order



"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome.

INTELLIGENT ADVERTISING, OR BEHIND THE SCENES

"To keep the skin fragrant, and the mouth fresh, renew your Subscription to the 'Radio News'!"

"Chic women, to complete your toilet never go out without Balvani cheeselets."

is based on the individual, their politics are democratic, their organisation capitalistic, and the social structure monogamous. On the other side are the Bantus, representatives of a primitive culture, with their ancestor-worship, belief in magic, simple and undeveloped economic system and reactionary cattle-keeping methods. The basis of their social order is blood-relationship, their politics are hierarchical, their social structure polygamous and their economic system communistic. Even if too great emphasis must not be laid on these differences, especially when it is remembered that many of their less deeply-rooted institutions have in part ceased to exist owing to European influence, yet the contrast is sharp enough to make the problem of assimilating these two grades of civilisation a very difficult one. And when the numerical ratio of White to Black is taken into account, the position is even more difficult for the white man.

Should the white man, in a spirit of toleration and freedom from prejudice, open up the paths of progress to the members of the Bantu race who are capable of entering them? Should he, in the spirit of individualism, concede to the Bantus the possibility of free competition in all spheres of public activity? If he does, will he not have reason to fear that his culture will be stifled by the mere numerical supremacy of upward-struggling masses? Or that his descendants will be delivered over to miscegenation?

Whatever different opinions there may be of the fundamental problems of racial relationship there is no one who would be prepared —permanently and without reserve—to support the view that the relations between black and white ought to advance unhindered towards complete equality. Those who insist most strongly that there should be no colour bar in politics or industry are the most persistent in urging that colour should be taken into account when it comes to supplying natives with alcohol, recruiting blacks for military service, or settling the right of the individual to possess property in the native compounds.

The position of the Bantus who have raised themselves to a European cultural level is an awkward complication. Here the two prevailing opinions separate fundamentally.

The opinion of the so-called " Cape School " has developed under the influence of the liberal conception of native questions which prevailed in 19th century England, when the Cape was still a British

colony. The first Constitution of the Cape did not leave any doubt that there was to be no colour bar in politics.

In the two earlier republics, in the predominantly British colony of Natal and in parts of Cape Province, the view was widely held that natives ought to be treated as a subject race. This is the basic idea of the "Northern School," which maintains that the position of the natives must be one not of citizens but of minors. One of the leading supporters of this school says: "Trusteeship means in our view the material, social, moral and physical advancement of the natives." Generally speaking, this school wishes all natives, civilised or not, to be treated as a group apart. Politically, this side demands that civilised natives should not be reckoned as part of the European electorate but as members of the totality of native peoples. In this way they believe they can lessen the danger of the natives

"Marianne," Paris

"NOW, HOW ON EARTH—"

politically driving the Europeans up against the wall by mere voting superiority.

Up to the present this school has been the more influential, and the introduction into the Union of a native policy such as is embodied in the two laws of 1936 is a considerable victory for them. Their leader is the Prime Minister, General Hertzog.

Under the "Representation of Natives' Act" of 1936, those natives in the Cape Province who are qualified to vote, elect, in electorates separated from those of the Europeans, three Europeans to a House of Assembly 153 strong, and two to the Provincial Council of Cape Province, which has 63 members. The natives in the other provinces are not represented in either body, but are qualified, like the natives in Cape Province, to elect four Europeans to a Senate of 44. Apart from this representation in Parliament the Act provides for a Council to represent the natives, composed of 16 natives and six European officials from the Department of Native Administration. It is the task of this Council to advise Parliament and the Provincial Councils in matters affecting the wellbeing of the natives.

Division of Land

In the years 1903-05 a large Committee investigated the native question in all South African colonies. At that time "Kaffir farming" was widespread; under this system a European was allowed to buy land and hire it out to natives for cultivation. The Committee condemned this system in the following terms: "Such a system is fatal to both races, since on the one hand it perpetuates the widespread evil of absentee landlordship, and on the other hand prevents the rise of the native owing to the uncertainty of the tenancy." Gradually it was decided to divide the land into European and Native districts, and the "Natives' Land Act" of 1913 forbids the sale of the land of one race to members of the other race. When this Act became law it was intended to enlarge the native protectorates, and various attempts were made to do so. But tremendous differences of opinion on the political aspect of the native question rendered these efforts vain.

In 1932 the "Native Economic Commission" reported that the native protectorates were full, that as a result they were deteriorating economically and that a native flight from the land was the inevitable

consequence. Under the "Native Trust and Land Act" of 1936 a board of trustees for the natives was set up which was given power to buy 7,250,000 morgen (about 14½ million acres) for native settlement. The money required is to be voted from time to time by Parliament.

The fundamental separation of natives and Europeans in respect of landed property was introduced into the towns by the "Natives Urban Areas Act" (1923). Natives must live in segregated native quarters unless they are put up by their employers.

In the special quarters of towns reserved to them the natives are called upon to govern themselves. In many districts, particularly in Zululand and the northern Transvaal, the chiefs still exercise a great deal of power. In other districts native councils, helped by white officials, carry out a certain amount of self-government.

There is an even sharper separation between Black and White in the social sphere. Natives may not live in European hotels nor visit European theatres. On railways they travel in special coaches. They have their schools and their own Native Academy.

The best elements in both races are against miscegenation, and even though mixed marriages do sometimes take place, the total number of offspring of marriages between Bantus and Whites is very small. By the "Immorality Act" of 1927 illegal intercourse is a serious crime, punishable by imprisonment. Marriages between whites and natives are not illegal, but in two of the four provinces there is no office to register such marriages. Whites married to natives are ostracised in European circles.

It is on such a basis that relations between White and Black are carried on in public affairs.

CHEAP DEFENCE

South-West Africa, 325,000 square miles in extent, a country that would be of great strategic importance in any attack on the Union, spends £25 a year on defence.

The only arms, apart from rifles, officially in the country for military purposes, are six machine guns and two Lewis guns belonging to the police force, which consists of six European officers, 216 non-commissioned officers and 164 native constables. The natives are neither armed nor trained in arms.

South-West Africa is only five hours' flying time from Roberts Heights or Capetown.—*Sunday Express*, Johannesburg.

World Review

BRITISH EMPIRE'S LATEST ACQUISITION

News of the discovery (of layers 40 miles above the earth affecting wireless waves), which is one of the most important in recent years, was given to the Royal Society by Mr. R. A. Watson Watt, Superintendent of the Bawdsey Research Station of the Air Ministry.

"American workers have discovered the new layers, too," said Mr. Watt in an interview, "but we were first, which makes the new regions British."—*News-Chronicle*, London.

VITAL STATISTICS

According to statistics prepared by an official of a safety razor company, there are 15,000,000 shavers in the British Isles, who every day shave off a growth of 250 inches of hair from each of 15,000,000 faces. Thus each week the shaving males of the United Kingdom remove from themselves no fewer than 350,000 miles of hair. If all the facial areas thus disafforested were laid side by side it is estimated that they would cover an area of 125 acres.—*Christian Science Monitor*, Boston.

BUFFER STATES

OPTIMISM IN THE BALTIC

From a special correspondent in Riga of the "Algemeen Handelsblad," Amsterdam

Together with Poland, the Baltic States share the unenviable distinction of forming the buffer between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. The serious consequences for them of a conflict between these two powerful States have served to draw them closer together. At the same time, as the following article shows, there is a growing conviction that the Russo-German hostility is not so deep-seated as it appears

THE axis of peace in Europe is formed by the countries which separate Germany and Russia. That is the opinion which is gaining ground among the citizens of Eastern Europe. The Governments and peoples of the buffer-States have no illusions as to their position in the event of an armed conflict. They know that their existence is at stake in a possible struggle between Germany and Russia, no matter which side they adopt and whatever might be the outcome of the war. There can be no question of remaining neutral, as the belligerent countries could only approach one another over the territories of the buffer-States. True, the opinion in Government circles is that neither of the powerful neighbours has any immediate intention of attacking the other, contenting themselves for the time being with invective hurled across the divide. But what will the future bring?

For a long time military reorganisation has been one of the most conspicuous characteristics of bolshevism in Russia. The Soviet constitution fixed the strength of the Russian standing army at 562,000 men, but since 1933 this figure has been already twice modified. First the contingent was increased to 940,000 men, later on to 1,300,000 men. In August, 1936, the age for military service was lowered from 21 to 19 years. According, therefore, to this estimate, 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 men wear the uniform of the Red Army and the reserves are practically inexhaustible. Marshal Voroshilov, the Commissar of War, declared several times after the

manoeuvres last summer that the Red Army was " actually prepared for war "—for defensive war, should the enemy commence the attack. Each time the Marshal added significantly that, once begun, the war would be carried to a conclusion on the enemy's territory.

The enemy which Russia has in mind is naturally Germany. Over two years ago preparations for war began behind the Russian frontier. When Hitler came into power in Germany, the uneasiness on the Russian plains was distressingly great. If war had broken out then, there would assuredly have been a revolt behind the Russian lines. Moscow at once scented the danger and alleviated the regime on the steppes, whilst local patriotism was encouraged by the motto " Love for the Fatherland." A new constitution, officially called a " charter of liberty," was drawn up.

In the border States all this is looked upon as preparation for a war. Although Russia now has a very strong army on the Western frontier, it is constantly being reinforced. As on the other side of the frontier, the German army is being strengthened; in the border States the question is continually being asked whether, and even when, one of the two armies will cease to be on the defensive and will invade the buffer-States in order to reach the foe. The statements of the responsible leaders in Moscow are not particularly enlightening : on the one hand it is said that war with Germany is immediately threatening and inevitable, and on the other hand it is announced that the Red Army is so strong that nobody in the world would be so rash as to attack it. It is always emphasised that the Red Army will never be used for aggression. From Germany also come similar announcements of peaceable, defensive plans, but, hitherto, with less emphasis. However, it is generally believed that the German army is still less prepared for a war of aggression than the Russian. The German army would put up a good show against an attacking Russian force but not until 1938 can it be ready to invade Russia with any chance of success.

War Not Inevitable

There are many people, not only in Russia and abroad, but also in the neighbouring States who believe, or say they believe, that a war between Germany and Russia is inevitable, because the Third Reich intends to stamp out communism. Although this opinion is

well supported by what one hears from Germany, it is not considered on the whole to be the correct one in the capitals of the border States. Although Germans may not find it pleasant, it is a fact that the number of points of agreement between the earlier periods of Bolshevist Russia and the Third Reich is surprisingly great. The Nazi Party in Germany, just as the Communist Party in Russia, has no very convincing majority. Moreover, the Nazi Party is not homogeneous and it has not such a definite doctrine as Communism has. The German nation was unanimous for obtaining national equality and rearmament. National equality it has obtained, and as to rearmament, it has nothing to complain of. The oppressive burden on the taxpayer and the sacrifices in order to reach the goal have rather dulled the brilliance of Germany's new "freedom." New slogans have to be invented, or old ones repeated with more force. The former has not occurred, although the latter has : the standard of the anti-Communist crusade was once more raised. Nuremberg was devised to re-awaken the German people, but the effect in the border States was not very considerable since so many similar explosions have been heard, both from Germany and from Russia.

Nobody, then, in the border States attached very much importance to the international significance of the Nuremberg speeches, neither was anything more dangerous expected than verbal abuse ; in fact, it seemed that the speeches were chiefly intended for home consumption. Official expert observers in Russia and in the border States do not pretend to believe that Germany, without aid, will be able to attack Russia for a few years. Where is Germany to find allies for an undertaking fraught with so much risk ? The Baltic States certainly do not even consider it, and Poland would not be particularly anxious for a war on her territory. It is also very doubtful whether Japan alone could be a decisive factor to the detriment of Russia.

Fear Banished

At the moment, therefore, the Baltic States are not very perturbed as to the possibility of a well-planned attack by Germany on Russia, although the military value of the Franco-Russian pact is regarded here as doubtful. Many think that the pact is more in the nature of a wedge between Germany and Russia than a bond between France and Russia.

The Baltic States also consider that the violent shouting matches between Germany and Russia were promoted and controlled by the Governments and are not necessarily a permanent factor in the relations between the two countries. Common economic interests are at present breaching the artificial wall of hatred, which but a few months ago appeared totally impenetrable.

Meanwhile, the possibility of an armed conflict between Germany and Russia is at the present moment apparent, and should civil war break out or be induced in one of the buffer-States, hostilities between Germany and Russia could, by a " natural " process, develop from it. This danger is amply illustrated in Spain. It is unnecessary to say how important for the peace of Europe is peace in the States between Germany and Russia, and how carefully the situation there must be watched, lest opportunity for dissatisfaction occur, which could be fanned into flame.

BALTIC STATES UNITE

From the " Berliner Tageblatt "

SINCE the signing of the Baltic Pact in 1934 the three Baltic States (Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania) have achieved an ever closer unity in their foreign relations ; but in domestic affairs, divergent and sometimes opposing tendencies have recently developed. In the spring of 1934 the parliamentary democracy of both Esthonia and Latvia was replaced by an authoritarian system. But in outward appearance the authoritarianism of Latvia is quite different from the Esthonian system.

This month (February) a two-chamber National Assembly is to meet in Esthonia with the object of forming a new constitution. This will be a blend of authoritarian, democratic and corporative principles of government. Of the two chambers of the Esthonian National Assembly the first is elected by universal and direct suffrage in a secret ballot. The second chamber, on the other hand, is to consist of representatives of self-governing units, professional chambers and various other public institutions.

Whilst Esthonia is beginning to return to a modified form of bicameral parliamentary democracy, the authoritarian system in

Latvia is of quite a different nature. For the time being there are no elected governing bodies. All power is in the hands of the decidedly authoritarian government of the present Latvian Premier, Ulmanis.

The difference in the constitutions of Esthonia and Latvia is less the result of philosophic theories than of the divergent nature of internal conditions. In Esthonia the present authoritarian government has succeeded in giving the whole people an inner unity and in securing the support of a large majority of the population. But in Latvia the Opposition parties are so strong that a return to a representative system of government would be fraught with danger.

There is also a very marked difference between the attitudes adopted by Esthonia and Latvia to their subject nationalities. Esthonia, even after the establishment of an authoritarian system, still recognises the vital rights of the non-Esthonian groups, and has invited the German group to participate actively in the reconstruction of the State by appointing a representative of the Institute of Cultural Autonomy. The Government in Latvia, on the other hand, is trying to mould together all non-Latvian groups into a unified Latvian Nation-State, a process which is causing the German group serious concern.

Distrust of the Soviets

These differences have not stood in the way of the close co-operation of the Baltic States in foreign affairs. This co-operation is most obvious in the united attitude adopted towards the Soviet Union. Though Esthonia, since the attempted Communist *coup* in Reval (Tallinn), in 1924, has pursued a cautious attitude towards the Soviet Union, Latvia and more especially Lithuania were a few years ago not disinclined to co-operate closely with the Soviet. Recently, however, there has been a change. The idea of a pact between the Baltic States and the Soviet Union seems finally to have been laid to rest. And ever since the notorious speech of Schdanov at the Moscow Party Congress (on Communist activities in the Baltic States) all three States have been filled with distrust of the Soviet and have made it their aim to follow a strictly neutral course in foreign policy, and to avoid all one-sided commitments.

FAMOUS AUTHORS BATTLE

What Came of a Visit to Russia

by LION FEUCHTWANGER

From "Pravda," Moscow

M. André Gide, the famous French author, proclaimed himself a Communist, and was invited to Russia. What he saw there he did not altogether like, and he said as much in a booklet on his return, to the annoyance of the Soviet Russians. His chief objection was to the standardisation of intellect, and to the lack of liberty which, he said, while allowing criticism of detail, forbids all question of the main principle. Here another well-known author, the German Jew, Lion Feuchtwanger, replies to his charges

WHEN André Gide, after a visit to the depths of Africa, proclaimed himself to be a Communist, his statement on that occasion was primarily a matter of aesthetics, a fit of sentimentality on the part of an emotional writer whose nerves had been shaken by the sufferings of the exploited Congo Negroes. In the Soviet Union his references to Communism, his outpourings in the beautiful book on his journey to Africa, were accepted as something which had political significance. Actually, this was never so. Gide's *Communism* was not a result of logical reasoning. His embracing of Communism was a matter of sentiment; it was only an accident that he did not at that time come out in favour of Catholicism. He could just as easily have come to Jesus and Mary as to Marx and Lenin.

Besides, Gide undoubtedly went to the Soviet Union with a number of misconceptions. He misunderstood the draft of the Soviet Constitution and confused the genuine democracy to which the U.S.S.R. has come with the formal democracy of the Western European countries. He was therefore deeply disappointed when he failed to find in the Soviet Union freedom of opinion and of the Press in the Western sense. He was undoubtedly sorely upset when he saw that the Soviet people had no intention of replacing their Socialism by the parliamentarism of West-European coinage.

André Gide went to the U.S.S.R. as a Parisian with a refined taste, a scoffer, extremely self-centred, who regarded Paris as the natural centre of the world. He viewed without the least bit of sympathetic interest the great things one can see in the Soviet Union ; however, his attention and interest were drawn to some petty tastelessness which can indisputably be found here. Just as the French for a long time refused to recognise the greatness of Shakespeare, constantly accusing him of tastelessness and barbarism and at best recognising him to be only a brilliant savage, just so did Gide's captious eye see in the Soviet Union petty defects, tastelessness, a lack of comforts. But he did not see the great, lofty planned development of the whole.

As regards Gide's more serious charges, he first of all bitterly criticises the " deification " of Stalin. It is true in the Soviet Union Stalin is so exceptionally honoured that it appears strange to a Western European. But if we look deeper, it becomes clear that this extraordinary manifestation of esteem applies to Stalin not as an individual

OLD BOLSHEVIK PLOTTERS SHOT

Lenin : " Thank God I died in time ! "

" Popolo d'Italia," Rome.

Stalin: "Are there any Bolsheviks of November 1917 who have not yet been shot?"—"Yes! You!"

"Il Merlo," Rome.

but as a representative of Socialism. This esteem of Stalin is not an artificial thing; it has grown together with the results of the building of Socialism. The people are grateful to Stalin for the bread and meat, for the order and education and for the defence of all this by the creation of an army. The people say "Stalin," and mean by it their greater well-being, the growing education. The people say "We love Stalin," and this is a natural human expression of their adherence to Socialism and its regime.

Gide further mocks the Stakhanov methods. He believes that only the "indolence" of the Russians has made these methods necessary. Does not a mere glance at the results achieved in the Soviet Union testify to the fact that work is performed here with much greater love than anywhere else? Could such results be achieved by means of compulsion? Does not an acquaintance with any factory or any house in Moscow prove that the people approve the intensiveness of labour demanded from them? Is it surprising that a country which adheres to the principle—from each according to his ability, to each according to his work—that this country seeks to raise its productivity by means of piece-work and rationalisation? Do not Gide's assertions about the alleged "indolence" of the Russian peoples prove rather his own conceit, his own whimsicality, his lack of a sense of reality and his ill will?

Gide speaks at great length about the "regimentation of souls" in the Soviet Union, about the growing "levelling." He forgets that a totally new culture is being created here, which is only in its initial stage, that a large proportion of the people, its majority, is in a certain sense only learning to read. But the letters of the alphabet, the elementary principles of the individual sciences are the same, they are not individualised. It is wrong to expect and it would be undesirable for anyone who begins to read "A" or "O," to pronounce this "A" or "O" individually as "E" or "U." When they learn to read better here, and this is a matter of a short time, then the laying of greater emphasis on the individual will be permissible.

As for other things, it cannot be denied that greater tolerance in certain spheres is desirable. But does not Gide know that the Soviet Union is faced with a serious menace, that it feels itself to be in a state of war? Does not André Gide know that people here must work like those biblical Jews who built their new temple holding a mason's tool in one hand and a sword in the other? Under these conditions it is not as simple and it is inexpedient to slacken discipline. Gide came to the Soviet Union not as a man who wants to observe without prejudice, but as a surfeited aesthete who yearns for new sensations. He found things not to his taste. This is his private affair. But he made this fact known at a time when the attack on Spain threatens the cause of the struggle for Socialism in France and throughout the world; this was —and even the aesthete Gide ought to have understood that—aid to the enemy, a blow at Socialism, a blow at progress the world over.

By publishing his poor little book just at this time, Gide deprived himself of the right to call himself a Socialist writer.

DECADENT ENGLAND AGAIN?

An unaccountable lethargy among foxes is given as a reason for the unusually heavy number of kills by the Warwickshire Hunt during the first half of the present season.

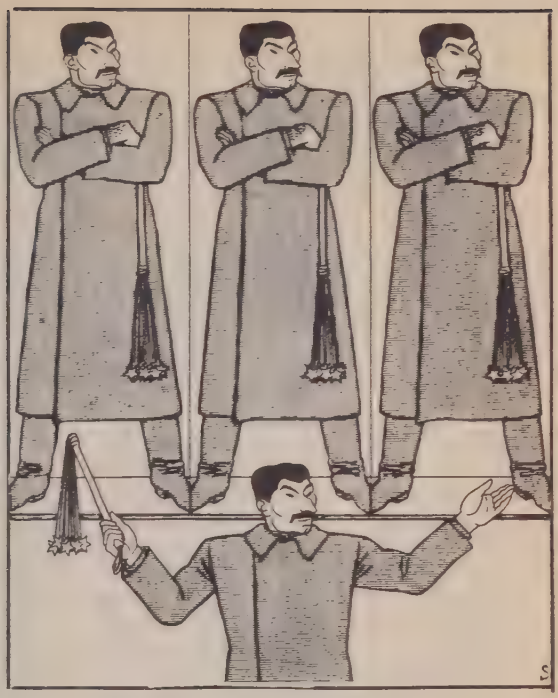
"Some of them have not stood up in front of hounds as long as one expected," said Mr. John Lakin, a joint master, yesterday. He added that a post-mortem examination of a four-year-old dog fox had been carried out to see whether there was any trace of disease, but the fox was found to be perfectly healthy.—*Sunday Times, London.*

COURT CIRCULAR

"Were you presented at court when you were in England?"

"Yes, and had to pay five pounds fine." —*Wall Street Journal.*

IS "WORLD REVOLUTION" ABANDONED ?



THE TRINITY

Stalin : "See ! All completely different ! On the left, the Leader of the Comintern ; middle, the Head of the Soviet State ; right, the Head of the Communist Party ! They have nothing to do with each other ! "

"Simplicissimus," Munich

THE OBSOLETE HUNT OF THE EXTINCT

Low,
"Evening Standard"
London

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome correspondence from our readers on any subject connected with international affairs. Letters intended for publication should be as short and concise as possible

WHAT! NO SAGO!

SIR,—I was truly sorry to read that in Russia, which covers one-sixth of the globe and has such millions of deluded inhabitants, Captain Cazalet was unable to obtain either sago or—fly-paper! Whatever is the ruthless Stalin up to?

Delightfully ingenuous too, the Captain, about all those average wages and prices. But he omits to say that he uses the rouble's exchange value as against the English £. This is utterly dishonest. Had he gone further and found out, as I did, that the rouble, to the Russian worker, is worth about 3d, not 1s., he could then have increased his boots from a modest £8 to £32. What a missed opportunity for a propagandist!

I too was in Russia last summer, and here are some things I saw: Russians actually buying the goods in the shops—particularly in Moscow's new Gastronom, as elaborate and well-stocked with food as Fortnum and Mason's! The Metro—every exit differently and strikingly designed—with its palatial stations and up-to-date trains. A magnificent performance of *Othello* to a packed and keen audience. Hungry people, unable to buy boots, do not pay for theatres! Bookstalls were crowded with eager workers and children. Hungry children don't buy books!

I bought things in Government shops without having to wait, and had them wrapped in paper. I saw the large Reading Room of the Lenin Library full of eager students, reading and writing. And I saw "colour, contrast and relief" in the Parks of Rest and Culture, where thousands were spending money on enjoyment.

My bags were scarcely looked at in the Customs. I went into a Russian Orthodox church full of old people (the young don't bother . . .). And boots, my dear sir, are scarce in Russia for the very reason that they are bought as soon as made.

In some outward respects I agree that Russia appears to the prejudiced observer as "one vast slum," but do our slum-dwellers have (*a*) assured employment? (*b*) paid holidays? (*c*) 7-hour day for all? (*d*) sick pay? (*e*) rest homes? (*f*) universal free education—up to the university? etc., etc.

In England the proportions of income are 40,000 to 1; in Russia 15 to 1. Is that capitalism? Class society? Another of the Captain's bogies.

A. E. AUSTIN, B.A.

*London, S.W.*17.

WE FIND CHAMPIONS

SIR,—The joke is undoubtedly on your Cardiff correspondent, "Regular Reader," who has been shaken from complacency to pepper the February correspondence column with exclamation marks, interspersed with the yellowest criticism one has seen directed against your journal.

Perhaps I should say the hollowest criticism. There is a very empty sound in the laugh that mocks at "your holy terrors" and finds consolation in dubbing the representative selection of international writings that you usually put together as "tripe." It would seem that its source is the stomach, not the mind—the laugh, I mean—else how could anyone jeer at a "gout-menaced Colonel" who is none the less "T.T."?

And yet I know at least half a dozen persons who subscribe to or contrive to see WORLD REVIEW because it keeps them *au courant* with international affairs. Three I happened to meet in Malta. They found your journal of high value because, so far from being in a " rut," it struck them as having an objective standing and as providing a medium for conveying ideas which, for a variety of reasons, are touched upon with some restraint by the local press.

Geneva. MICHAEL LANGLEY.

Thank you, Mr. Langley. We have received a large number of nice letters like yours and the extracts below:

Follow Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and even Soviet Russia in patting one's own back for personal achievements and the end will not be far distant. Perhaps "Regular Reader" is an admirer of the above systems.

Malta. ANOTHER REGULAR READER.

I congratulate you on producing a really good magazine, easily the best of its kind.

CAPTAIN L. GELLATLY.

Balerno, Scotland.

STILL THANKFUL

SIR,—The Hitler Government started with 6.4 million men and women out of employ, and by October, 1936, had reduced this number to less than 1.1 millions. Of these a large percentage are unemployables who would not have been counted in any of the pre-war statistics.

Wages are not as high everywhere as the Government could wish, but it is trying to maintain a judicious balance between the legitimate requirements of the masses and the truth that capital must produce at least a modest return to its possessors, to prevent it from going into hiding. As a result the incomes of the low-tax classes and of the " monopolists," as your correspondent in your December issue brands them, have risen in about the same proportion during the last three years, a sure sign that all classes are equally benefited.

The Government exerts a gentle, but unmistakable pressure on employers to make the poor man's life worth living, to give the working man security against sudden, and even against arbitrary, dismissal, to get him a paid holiday, and to protect him generally against the tyranny of employers and foremen.

For the really poor the Winter Relief Work has been created and has done marvellous work under the able guidance of Dr. Goebbels. Over £25 million sterling has been collected every year.

Over twenty millions of German working men and women are members of the " Kraft durch Freude " (Strength Through Joy) movement. Here we are all workers, whether we earn our living as navvies shovelling a ditch or as owners of a big factory. We all contribute a scaled membership fee, from which the low-income classes derive material benefits of various kinds. They get the chance to indulge in all kinds of sports, can travel anywhere in Germany on a prolonged holiday, and take sea trips in considerable comfort, all for a price every workman can afford.

Your correspondent therefore is a little off the mark, if she thinks that " Hitler would have no power to dictate, had he not the support of the land monopolists backed by the Army." The big landowners count for very little in the new order of things.

And the Army is *the people*, just as much as the working man or the employee represents the people.

R. KIMBARA.

Magdeburg-Buckau.

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

WESTERN DEMOCRACY'S KEYSTONE

THE DESTINY OF FRANCE. By Alexander Werth. *Hamish Hamilton.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by AYLMER VALLANCE

FROM the coalition government of Mr. Lloyd George, Britain has passed by relatively easy and peaceful stages to the (to all appearance, pre-war) coalition government of Mr. Baldwin. France, whose fate—it has been said—is to live dangerously, has travelled further, more violently, in changes of direction from the *Bloc National* of 1919-24 to the *Front Populaire* led today by M. Blum. This political Pilgrim's Progress of a nation to a journey's end, unhappily precarious and beset with growing dangers from abroad, forms one of the most complicated yet vital chapters of contemporary history. In his post-war history of France, Mr. Werth, the Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *New Statesman*, has done a magnificent job. He has unravelled with lucid simplicity the tangled threads of French political manoeuvres, from the Treaty of Versailles onwards to the present day, and invested his story with the life, movement and colour of an eye-witness's account of day-to-day events. The result, from the academic historian's point of view, may be "journalism," but it is a journalism in its supremely worth-while form.

It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to the scope and shape of Mr. Werth's brilliant book. From the point of view of the internal politics of France, he records fairly and objectively the developments which led, between M. Briand's fall in 1922 and the Tardieu-Laval period ten years later, to the crisis of parliamentary government, culminating in the Paris riots of February 6, 1934, the emergence of Fascism as a force in French politics, and the eventual, if possibly transient, triumph of the Popular Front. But, overshadowing in international importance these domestic changes of regime, there emerges from Mr. Werth's pages the picture of a France gradually losing—partly from her own errors, partly through the cowardice and mistakes of Britain—the European hegemony which she enjoyed for the first decade after the War ; a France robbed of the safeguards of the demilitarised Rhineland, of Locarno, of the League ; a France flung finally into the "collective insecurity" in which every nation is frantically re-arming.

Mr. Werth is essentially a realist. He finds feet of clay in nearly all the popular political idols who appear on his stage ; his criticism is as mordant as it is witty. But his judgments are

sound, his information astonishingly accurate. This is a great book, by a great foreign correspondent.

HOLD TIGHT

CLAMOUR FOR COLONIES, by H. S. Ashton. *Thornton Butterworth.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

MANDATES: REASONS, RESULTS, REMEDIES. By Neil Macaulay. *Methuen.* 6*s.*

Reviewed by B. S. KEELING.

ARE Germany's colonial claims justified? Should at least a part of her former Empire be restored to her? To the many English people, who, like the present reviewer, have still not made up their minds on this subject, the present spate of literature concerning colonies and mandates is very welcome.

The two books considered here represent an extreme point of view, similar to that of the Dutch Foreign Minister, who recently declared: "Never, never, will Holland cede one square inch of her territory, even to serve the claims for expansion of other nations." Both are essentially "popular" books written by "practical men."

Mr. Ashton is outspoken. The Italians are "among the most servile of all Europeans," whereas Holland, Denmark and Portugal are "nations of superlative civilisation and/or ancient history or tradition." But in spite of this rather wearisome succession of fireworks, he shows clearly that the economic importance of colonies has been much exaggerated and that nothing seriously impedes "access to colonial raw materials" except shortage of foreign exchange; although on the other hand he argues: "fiddle with the composition of the British Empire and you take the first step towards destruction of the British *entrepôt* trade."

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He rightly emphasises that the co-operation of the United States is essential for any real solution of the raw materials problem, but does not mention Mr. Cordell Hull's recent achievements in the matter of tariff reductions or the remarkable fall in the American export surplus in the last two years. Yet if the United States at last allows debts to be paid to her in the form of goods, the world economic problem will be more effectively solved than by the £300 million credits which Mr. Ashton proposes should be granted by the United States, Great Britain, France and Holland to Germany, Russia, Italy and other "necessitous" nations.

Mr. Ashton takes all colonies—and a good deal more besides—as his subject. Mr. Macaulay confines his attention to the former German colonies, together with Syria and Palestine, (that "twice promised land," as he nicely observes).

Mandates contains a great deal of slightly haphazard information concerning these territories, particularly as regards Nazi activities in South-West Africa and Tanganyika. But towards the end it emerges that "pernicious propagandist papers from Germany" are not Mr. Macaulay's sole *bête noire*. Apparently "the clamour for German colonies is only another red herring dragged across the trail of financial interests." The real villains of the piece are the "League of International Banksters" and the "world hegemony of Judaeo-Masonry."

Mandates has evidently been written in a hurry. It bristles with small mistakes.

THE UN-PRIVATE LIFE OF A REVOLUTIONARY

THE LETTERS OF LENIN. Translated and edited by Elizabeth Hill and Doris Mudie. *Chapman & Hall.* 15s.

Reviewed by R. H. S. CROSSMAN

WE know something of what Lenin achieved, but of his private life and thoughts very little has been disclosed. This volume gives us a glimpse at least of the man who was, above all others, responsible for the Bolshevik revolution. We can see him in exile in Siberia, an *émigré* at one time or another in nearly all the capitals of Europe, and finally, President of the Sovnarkom; we can "listen in" to his conversations with his family, with his few friends and his multitudinous enemies: and we can hear him thinking aloud those dry, precise memoranda, spiced with withering comments and occasionally with encouragement, which his comrades must have read with such painful anxiety. Yes! *The Letters of Lenin* is a book which must be read.

528 pp. "INVASION '14" 8/6 net

by MAXENCE VAN DER MEERSCH, Translated by GERARD HOPKINS

Manchester Guardian. "With patient and sensitive thoroughness and without any slackening of interest throughout its 520 pages this novel describes the tangle behind the German lines in an occupied area on the Franco-Belgian frontier."

CONSTABLE : LONDON

And yet it is a curiously dull book. Partly, no doubt, this dullness is due to the conditions under which the letters were written. Fear of police detection induces an obscurity of style which degenerates into " code " and the editors have done little to ease the reader's task of detection. But there are other reasons why these letters are heavy going. In the first place, *emigré* revolutionaries are inevitably sectarian and the *emigré* Russian revolutionaries were not only sectarian but verbose. Page follows page of elaborate argumentation and polemic ; and if these were the letters of an unknown X, no one could conceive that this X was to be one of the greatest statesmen of the XXth century. Lenin, in common with all *emigrés*, was sometimes petty and academic. Cut off from the real political and social movements in Russia, he was forced to spend his whole galvanic energies upon theoretical disputation. This fact, by the way, does something to explain the mentality of the Russian Communist regime, which has not yet been able to discard the sectarianism of its pre-revolutionary period. It still acts as Lenin wrote.

In the second place it is clear from these letters that Lenin was first and last a Communist. No private life is displayed in them, simply because there was no private life to display. The whole energy of the man was devoted to the cause for which he lived and died ; apart from it he was a dutiful son, an affectionate husband, a lover of the country ; but all these interests were ruthlessly subordinated to the interests of the revolution. Among the 300 letters, hardly one has a genuinely personal touch ; they are documents of the Russian revolution, and nothing more. As such, they would have been

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MANDATES

REASONS, RESULTS, REMEDIES

By

NEIL MACAULAY

SIR EDWARD GRIGG, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., D.S.O., M.C., M.P., late Governor of Kenya, in his Introduction to this book : "If we had had plainer speaking on this colonial question in the last few months, it would not have become as troublesome as it is at the present time . . . . I hope . . . . that the book will be widely read and its conclusions studied with the care which they deserve."

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infinitely more interesting had the editors taken their task more seriously and set them in their full historical context. In their present form many of them are almost unintelligible to the lay reader unversed in Marxist controversy.

All the same, I recommend them; and I would call the attention of hurried readers to page 477. There, in the last letter, is the only joke which Lenin allowed himself. It is a good one.

NOT FOREIGNERS TO THEMSELVES

FOREIGNERS AREN'T FOOLS. By Christopher Hollis. *Longmans.* 5*s.*

Reviewed by CHRISTOPHER SIDGWICK

MR. CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS, I understand, worked for an economic commission in the United States, and then returned to England on a liner carrying a number of intelligent foreigners, whom he instantly engaged in serious talk.

The trouble, of course, about foreigners is that they are not foreign to themselves. The Italian explains why he is not, in his opinion, a bloodthirsty oaf for having gassed Abyssinia. The German does not bother to explain why Hitler believes his own ranting, but why the war-wrecked *Volk* has to and does believe it. The Frenchman denies that the Franco-Soviet Pact will turn his country into a western outpost of Bolshevism. The Russian admits his disillusionment and insists that while the Fascist is fighting against the inevitable, he, a Bolshevist, is fighting for it—fighting, that is, to perfect a new system *before* the collapse of the capitalist system brings chaos and anarchy to the world. The Japanese warns us that the East cannot quite share our good opinion of ourselves. I am not yellow in my own eyes, he says in effect, and I want the East to belong to the East and the West to belong to the West. The American explains why he will have nothing to do with Europe and points to the grey watery wastes as proof of his real isolation. The Man Who Knew Statistics has neither nationality nor political creed, but his precise and unbiassed information about economics form a most important chapter.

Only occasionally does Mr. Hollis interrupt these talks, and then only when they seem to be drifting overboard. But his last chapter magnificently and indeed eloquently records the faith of the Englishman. He wants neither Fascism nor Communism to come to his Somerset valleys, but he is pleased that Fascism has woken England from its happy but prolonged Palmerstonian dream of government. If Europe is worth saving, he says, it can only be on account of its Christian ideals and culture. Thus he can discover nothing in the Left brands of thought which is likely to help, since the Left ideology is opposed to Christianity. Nationalism, he adds, is the rock on which we must build, not the rock to be first blown up before we can start building. For its information, sanity, calm, and intense honesty of outlook every European should read this book. I would like to see it sell and be read, like *Mein Kampf.*

SHORTER NOTICES

JAPANESE LADY IN EUROPE. By Haruko Ichikawa. *Cape.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

A CHARMING collection of travel impressions by a Japanese lady who toured Europe with her husband, acting as "dry-plate to his lens." They are beautifully written, with a freshness and lack of prejudice not often found in travel-books in this sophisticated age. Perhaps a quotation from her chapter on

Cambridge will best illustrate the charm of her manner. She writes of the students :

> "They looked rather like trades - boys carrying books in baskets fixed to their handle-bars, but their faces showed that they had no mental troubles . . . Among Japanese students, no one can be found who might provoke the appetite of an old cannibal, but even I might have been able to eat such young men as they. . . . Some of them are extremely tall, but they are rather slender, just like asparagus cultivated under glass."

ZERO HOUR. By Richard Freund. *Methuen.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

THIS is a very good guide to the national policies of the various States. The author himself has no axe to grind. He recognises that nations are not guided by a belief in collective ideals, but merely by self-interest. He regrets this, but as it is so, he makes it his business to set down what these interests are. This he does very successfully, with remarkable accuracy and soundness of judgment. This is certainly one of the best guides to world affairs today, and a really fascinating book.

I WAS A SOVIET WORKER. By Andrew Smith. *Hale.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

LIKE all books on Russia this is controversial. It tells the story of an American communist who gave up all to go and work in the Soviet Union, and lived to regret it. He looked for heaven and found something worse than hell. The communism of Lenin, he says, has been stifled by an ignorant and tyrannical bureaucracy. America treats its dogs better than the Soviet treats its workers. This is a grim and humourless book, which will equally annoy and delight. But it does force one to ask the question : if discontent is as widespread among army and people as the author would have us believe, why is the bureaucratic minority not speedily overthrown ?

DICTATORS. By Jacques Bainville. *Cape.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Dictators, by the late Jacques Bainville, historian and well-known royalist journalist, is a series of historical sketches of dictators from Solon to Hitler. The author does not take the view that dictators are necessarily good or bad, and is in any case convinced that, whether good or bad, they are generally imposed by circumstances and have to be suffered. Another point he makes as an historian is that we are wrong in believing our age to be unique in its dictators—we are merely repeating the experiences of former generations. With this background he analyses the individual dictators, showing where and why they succeeded or failed. An intelligent and interesting book, with original comments on post-war leaders.

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TRAVEL

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

To far too many English people Czechoslovakia is still only a geographical expression or a name occasionally read in the newspapers in connection with dictators' ambitions. But really Czechoslovakia is one of the most charming little countries in Europe. It is barely twenty years old politically, but its capital is one of the oldest and loveliest cities in Europe. Prague is only twenty-seven hours by rail from London, but those who prefer, or can afford, air travel, can get there in a few hours via Cologne and Nuremberg at a cost of £19 return. If you can't afford the air, you can travel by train to Prague for about £11 return. There are three main routes from London. The first is from Victoria, via Ostend, Nuremberg (where you change), and Cheb, and takes twenty-eight hours. The second, from Liverpool Street, via Flushing, Leipzig, and Podmokly, takes one hour less. The third, also from Liverpool Street, via the Hook, Leipzig and Decin, takes thirty-four hours. Railway travel in Czechoslovakia is very cheap, and there are very considerable reductions on the return fare for those who stay more than six days in the country. Another alternative, of course, is to take your car—roads in most parts of the country are good.

The Czechs are renowned for their hospitality. As their proverb has it, "a guest in the house is God in the house"—and the Czechs are a religious people. You will find a considerable amount of English spoken; and where it isn't, your German and their goodwill should carry you through.

Where to go

Wherever you intend to stay, it will be well worth your while to visit the capital and spend a day or more in the lovely old city. It contains some magnificent examples of Baroque architecture, besides the ancient castle of the Bohemian Kings and many majestic churches.

Having seen Prague and obtained sufficient information for a talk to your club on return about the position of Czechoslovakia, you may then either wander from one end of the country to the other or go to some centre where you can rest or which you can use as a starting-point for excursions.

If you suffer from any of the many complaints which are amenable to spa treatment, or if you like to see European society on holiday, you will go to one of Czechoslovakia's watering-places. The two best-known are perhaps Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad) and Marianske Lazné

(Marienbad)—the former is useful if you have gout, poor circulation, or disordered kidneys, the latter particularly for internal disorders or tropical diseases. Jachymov (Joachimstal) is the world's chief radium spa for rheumatism, sciatica and nervous disorders—Piestany offers you mud-baths for your gout, rheumatism or sciatica, and if your heart is not what it ought to be, go to Frantiskovy Lazné (Franzensbad) or Podebrady. None of these spas is more than two or three hours from Prague.

If you are more energetic, and want to wander in forests or climb mountains, there are several alternatives. There are the western forests of Bohemia and Moravia, and to the north of Prague there is "Bohemian-Saxon Switzerland." Or you can go east into Slovakia and the wilds of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia.

Strbske Pleso (over 4,000 feet) is a favourite Slovak centre in the High Tatras mountains. Here you can bathe, shoot, fish (trout), or make it a starting-point for climbing. Further east, towards Jasina, you come into the most primitive part of the country, among the rugged Carpathians and ancient forests. For those who wish to walk and to explore this is the most exciting part of the country.

Those thinking of going to Czechoslovakia can get all the information they require from the Czechoslovak Travel Bureau, 21, Regent Street, S.W.1.

FOREIGN TOURING IS CHEAP NOW

by CAPTAIN G. E. T. EYSTON

ORGANISED foreign motor tours, so popular a feature in the summer, are beginning early this year. The newly-formed Foreign Touring Club has plans, I learn, for an Easter tour of the Belgian battlefields area and the Ardennes.

The party will cross from Dover to Ostend on Thursday, March 25 and return to Dover on the Monday. Foreign touring is a very different proposition since the recent devaluation of the foreign exchanges. As an example of how costs now work out, I give a few budget details of a tour just lately made by a party of three in France, Italy and Switzerland. In Paris, they put up for the night in a semi-luxury hotel just off the Champs Elysées, and were charged 50 francs each for large rooms with private bath. Although the exchange is now at the rate of about 105 francs to the pound in place of 75 a few months ago, prices in this Paris hotel for the room, and luncheon and dinner as well, were the same as when the party stayed there, before devaluation, last summer. On the road, they found that the average price of a good luncheon or dinner was between 18 and 25 francs, although at smaller restaurants it was possible to lunch or dine for 12 francs. Petrol of first-class quality, fully equal to the best anti-knock brands in Great Britain, costs about 2.50 francs per litre, equivalent to about 2s. 2½d. per gallon, while ordinary "tourisme" spirit costs slightly less.

In Italy, prices were much the same. But tourists who are staying not less than five days in the country can secure considerable reductions through the system of hotel and petrol coupons. By the aid of these coupons, the price of petrol is reduced from the normal 2s. a gallon to 1s. 8d. if you stay for not less than five days, and to 1s. 3½d. if you stay a minimum of 15 days. The concession only covers a limited quantity

of petrol, but this is enough for normal requirements.

In Switzerland, the party found that hotel prices were rather higher than in Italy or France. Petrol, on the other hand, was a little less expensive, the cost being 43 Swiss cents per litre, or approximately 1s. 10½d. per gallon. Had the party been staying for a minimum period of three days, they would have been entitled to a refund on leaving the country which would have brought the price down to 1s. 3½d. a gallon.

Germany is a favourite touring country for British motorists. You can tour comfortably on as little as 10s. or 15s. a day, including petrol, thanks to the Travel Mark system by means of which you enjoy a special rate of exchange. At present, it is about R.M. 25 to the pound. In the summer the rate is usually about R.M. 20 or 22. An average charge for bed and breakfast in town works out at about R.M. 4 or R.M. 6, and in the wayside and country inns rather less. Garaging is often free, or costs about R.M.1 or R.M. 1.50. Table d'hote luncheon or dinner in small hotels can be had for R.M. 1.60 or R.M. 2. Beer and wines are cheap, good and plentiful, and there are no closing hours! Petrol charges are roughly about the same as in Great Britain. No tax or licence fee of any kind is payable by visiting motorists who take their cars to Germany for periods of less than three months.

WOULD IT WORK?

If you think Fascism can rule America, try telling your wife that your first duty is to the State instead of her.—*Louisville Times, U.S.A.*

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THE WORLD OF FINANCE

MOVES TOWARDS BREAKING TRADE SHACKLES

by "RAPIER"

During a period of comparative calm in international affairs it is an opportune moment to take stock of the economic outlook for the world at large and Britain in particular. The bankers in their annual orations were optimistic on the prospects of continued industrial revival in Britain but their optimism was tempered by anxiety lest a revival, based upon housing and rearmament, and fostered by tariffs and cheap money, should create a too hot-house type of domestic recovery liable to collapse should any of the stimulants be withdrawn. The housing boom has already probably passed its peak, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer has indicated that the term of rearmament will be roughly five years. In the opinion of the bankers the only sure shield for the permanent maintenance of a healthy economic life in Britain is an expansion of international trade.

But it is not only in Britain that these abnormal conditions prevail. Industrial recovery in most countries today is based upon the vicious principle of self sufficiency, aided by Government expenditure on armaments or relief works, and reinforced by subsidies, quotas, tariffs, restriction of output, of migration, and of foreign lending. If peace and prosperity are to be maintained all these restrictions and adventitious aids to industry must be swept away or at least modified.

The present moment seems favourable for some amelioration of existing restrictions. There is a stirring in the world's Chancelleries and a realisation that now or never is the time to act. The event which set these forces in motion was, I believe, the tripartite monetary agreement which was concluded last Autumn between America, France and Britain on the occasion of the devaluation of the franc, and which was followed by Dutch, Swiss and other devaluations. It was emphasised at the time by the spokesmen of the leading countries, that unless devaluation was followed by abolitions of quotas and lowering of tariffs the beneficial effects of devaluation would be largely vitiated. Britain took the lead in these admonitions but failed to take any practical action in lowering its own tariffs. Both France and Holland, have, however, adjusted tariffs and quotas and are expected to go further in this direction shortly.

Britain's Obstruction

As I write, the Low Countries are negotiating with the Scandinavian countries in an attempt to form a low-tariff group. It is to be hoped that their efforts on this occasion will not, as in the past, be blocked by Britain, whose insistence on its "Most Favoured Nation" rights killed the Oslo convention concluded between seven small northern European countries in 1930,

and the Lausanne convention of 1932, concluded by Holland and Belgium-Luxemburg. The M.F.N. clause gives a nation that has adopted it in any trade treaty with any other country, the right to benefit from any subsequent tariff concessions made by the latter to a third party. In these days of limited trade agreements it does not always suit the countries concerned to extend concessions to a third party, which itself is making no concessions. It would be opportune, therefore, if Britain made some official declaration on its future policy on the M.F.N. clause and adopted a less rigid interpretation of it.

Talks with the U.S.

The return of President Roosevelt to power, and his almost certain authorisation by Congress to continue the negotiation of reciprocal trade treaties, opens the way to an Anglo-American treaty for which Mr. Runciman's visit to Washington was a preliminary exploration. The possibility of negotiating such a treaty is governed first of all by the form which American neutrality legislation is likely to take in the present session of Congress, a subject which must have been one of Mr. Runciman's main objects of consultation. With Britain's communications in the Mediterranean today threatened, not only by submarines, but also by aircraft, it is essential to be certain of supplies reaching this country in time of war from across the Atlantic.

If this difficulty can be satisfactorily disposed of, there is plenty of scope for increasing trade between Britain and America, although Britain's existing treaties as they affect agricultural products, and its domestic policy of encouraging agricultural production at home, are limiting factors. However, an analysis of commodities actually exchanged shows that two-thirds of British imports from America consist of raw materials or semi-manufactured goods and that over a third of British exports to America come into the same category. An increased exchange of such goods can therefore be made without competing with the domestic manufactures of either country.

Although it would be difficult to extend such an agreement to include the self-governing Dominions, it might include the British Colonies, though here the existing schemes for restricting output of rubber and tin, etc., may prove an obstacle. It is interesting to note that should a treaty be concluded its effects will be much more widespread than merely increasing Anglo-American trade for Most Favoured Nation rights apply to treaties between Britain and America.

Senator Hull is known to be keen to conclude such a treaty. The stage is set for freer trade. Let us hope that Mr. Runciman will be the leading actor, not only in an Anglo-American romance, but in the world-shaking drama of "Autarchy Unmasked" and its sequel "Prometheus Unbound."

FOR ALL

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"WORLD REVIEW" COMPETITION

Result of Competition No. 1

Our first Competition (an imaginary extract from the diary of Hitler and Mussolini on one another) brought in a good batch of entries, without actually overstraining the postman. "Mercurious" might have won if he had conformed to the competition as set. This was good : "Last night had horrible nightmare. Dreamt I was arraigned before Council of League and charged with incitement to war. Eden prosecuting. Protested proceedings were contrary to spirit of "Gentleman's Agreement." Franco witness for prosecution. Condemned unanimously to be Viceroy of Ethiopia for life. Wielded pick on demolition work ; discussed plans of Mussolini Maternity Palace site. Fixed next Emergency Mobilisation of Nation. Issued 20,000 light machine guns to Balilla organisation. Received delegation of Royal and Imperial Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Received Ward Price and made another peace offer. *E così a letto.*"

Other good points were : "*Hitler:* He's got an easier task than I, lucky chap. The Italian temperament is more easily led : words go further. . . . *Mussolini :* He's a lucky chap to have Germans to deal with. As long as they are in uniform, they're happy. My fellows took a lot of getting into uniform at all." (H. R. Grime.) "*Mussolini:* If he thinks I'm sending my eight million olive branches (I mean bayonets) up into Europe to help him fight Russia, he's mistaken." (J. L. O. Whyte.) "*Hitler:* Perhaps he's not so clever—merely smart. *Mussolini:* Not clever—merely verbose, inactive. The Abyssinian affair was real war, even if a little onesided." (J. R. Sisson.)

On the whole, although some of his puns were just about the worst we have ever heard, we hand the first prize to Guy Innes for being cheerfully idiotic. F. Young comes second, for good points.

First Prize

Hitler on Mussolini : "Duce"= Leader ; "Fuehrer"=Leader ; which is the genuine Leading Article ? Both our countries have passed the dictation test ; which is the best Dictator ? As an author, this Mussolini is a moth ; I am the Kampfer. But I have no colonies, few friends (Roehm, Roehm, thou art no more !). This Mussolini has Rome and Abyssinia. Shall his bayonets lop also the Spanish olive-branches ? Can I learn from this Mussolini ? Can the good Aryan *Wurst* speak the language of the Mediterranean sardine ?

Mussolini on Hitler : Hitler the House-painter ! But what a house ! A barracks ! And soldièrs ! Of what fightingness (*pugnazione*) ! Yes ?

Whence comes the butter to butter all those guns ?

I put up the brass front (*sfaciatezza*), the boom-boom-boom (*fanfaronata*). My generals hang the wallop (*schiaffo*) on the Ethiop's ear. . . .

Ah, for this Hitler behind the Spaghetti Front, to give my brave Blackshirts, my Balilla, the Sunday helping of the Winter Help every Sunday ! No ?

Guy Innes

Second Prize

Mussolini : Personal contact with Hitler, impressions unfavourable :

Prefer realists to mystics :

Dislike flabby physique and volubility :

Teuton clumsy sword compares ill with Italian rapier :

No awareness of bluff's limitations :

My policy, first, Peace with Church ; second, totalitarian State.

Am no partner in German-Japanese Entente : don't regard the Comintern so seriously : might have nasty repercussions at awkward moment :

Have great hopes of big loan and prefer some "butter" on top of my "sharpened bayonets," foreign for choice.

Hitler : Dirty trick of Musso to assume "War Lord" dress on first meeting, brought to surface my inferiority complex :

Envy his ability to send budding rivals to outlying colonies, very word makes my mouth water :

Didn't care for his attitude after Dollfuss, prickly customer ; but can work South-East in Mittel Europe plan :

Points of agreement :—

(1) Spain is becoming an "ulcer."

(2) England good for making agreements, gentlemen's or otherwise; don't want the last "sou."

F. Young

COMPETITION NO. 3

RESEARCH on the behaviour of wireless waves in the ionosphere has led (according to a report printed elsewhere in this issue) to the discovery of a layer affecting wireless waves, situated 40 miles above the earth. "Although Americans have also discovered this layer," states the report, "we were the first, and the layer is therefore British." Give, in not more than 150 words, an extract from a leading article in either *The Times*, *Morning Post*, or *Daily Express*, on the day that the ionosphere is formally annexed to the British Empire ; or, alternatively, the comment made on the announcement by a German, Italian, or Russian newspaper. Entries to be received by April 5.

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DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

January 18. Mr. Runciman arrives in America for trade talks with President Roosevelt and Mr. Cordell Hull (see "Rapier," p. 76).

February 8. President Roosevelt announces plan for increasing number of Supreme Court Judges and proposes "old men" should retire. Outburst over "dictatorship methods," aimed, it is believed, at securing that the President's plans shall not in future be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

GENEVA

January 21. League Council meets. Chief questions on agenda—Alexandretta and Danzig.

,, 27. Agreement reached on Alexandretta. The Sanjak (district) to have complete autonomy in internal affairs within Syrian State, and to have League High Commissioner.

,, 27. Danzig settlement announced. Another League High Commissioner to be appointed but not to interfere in internal affairs of city.

SPAIN

January 28. German and Italian replies to British note on volunteers express willingness to ban volunteers, but urge that all foreign volunteers, agitators, and propagandists should be withdrawn from Spain and that international control should be enforced.

February 8. Malaga falls to rebels.

,, 15. Governments in Non-Intervention Committee agree to ban volunteers as from February 28. Control plan still not agreed to by Portugal.

FRANCE

January 24. M. Blum, appeals to Germany to co-operate in speech at Lyons, but rejects bi-lateral pacts and says any negotiations must form part of general European settlement.

,, 30. British loan of £40 million to France following continued "flight from the franc," owing to fresh devaluation fears.

GERMANY

January 16. Resumption of full German sovereignty over Kiel Canal.

,, 30. Reichstag meets to celebrate fourth anniversary of National-Socialists' accession to power. Hitler demands colonies and renews offer of guaranteed neutrality to Belgium and Holland.

UNITED KINGDOM

January 17. Left Wing United Front formed by Socialist League (under Sir Stafford Cripps), Independent Labour Party and Communist Party.

,, 19. Mr. Eden's speech on choice before Germany of isolation or co-operation.

February 4. Government announce voluntary scheme for physical training and recreation, to improve physique of the nation.

,, 11. Government announce plan for Defence Loan of up to £400,000,000.

,, 17. Government announce expenditure on Armaments to be £1,500,000,000 over next five years.

ITALY

February 3. Italian and Turkish Foreign Ministers meet in Rome to discuss Italy's adhesion to the Dardanelles Convention signed in Montreux in July, 1936.

NETHERLANDS

January 27. M. Vandervelde, Belgian Socialist Minister of Public Health, resigned because in opposition to Cabinet attitude towards Spain.

February 2. Arrival in Brussels of King of Sweden and Foreign Minister, Hr. Sandler, for trade talks.

,, 4. Hr. Sandler visits The Hague, also for discussions to further economic co-operation. Holland to invite signatories of Oslo Convention to meet in The Hague at end of February (see "Rapier," p. 76).

,, 13. Hitler's offer of neutrality treaty declined.

SOVIET RUSSIA

January 23. Beginning of trial of seventeen "Trotskyist wreckers," including Radek, Sokolnikoff and Pyatakoff.

,, 29. Thirteen accused sentenced to death; ten years for Radek and Sokolnikoff.

February 8. Finnish Foreign Minister arrives for talks with M. Litvinoff in effort to improve Russo-Finnish relations.

JAPAN

January 24. Prime Minister Hirota and Cabinet resigned owing to hostile reception in Diet and opposition of army.

February 2. General Hayashi forms new Cabinet with approval of army.

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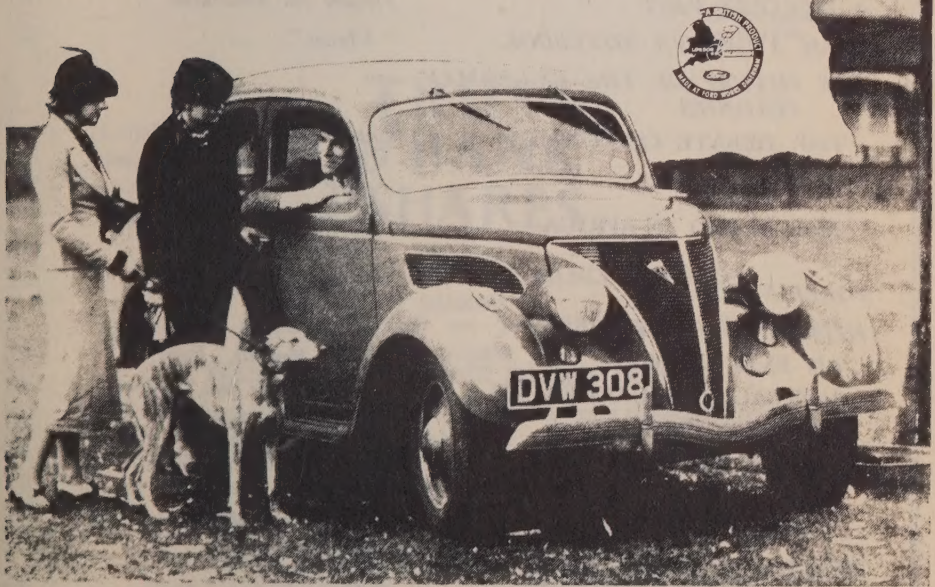

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